

# IN THESE TIMES

The Final Frontier  
Page 12

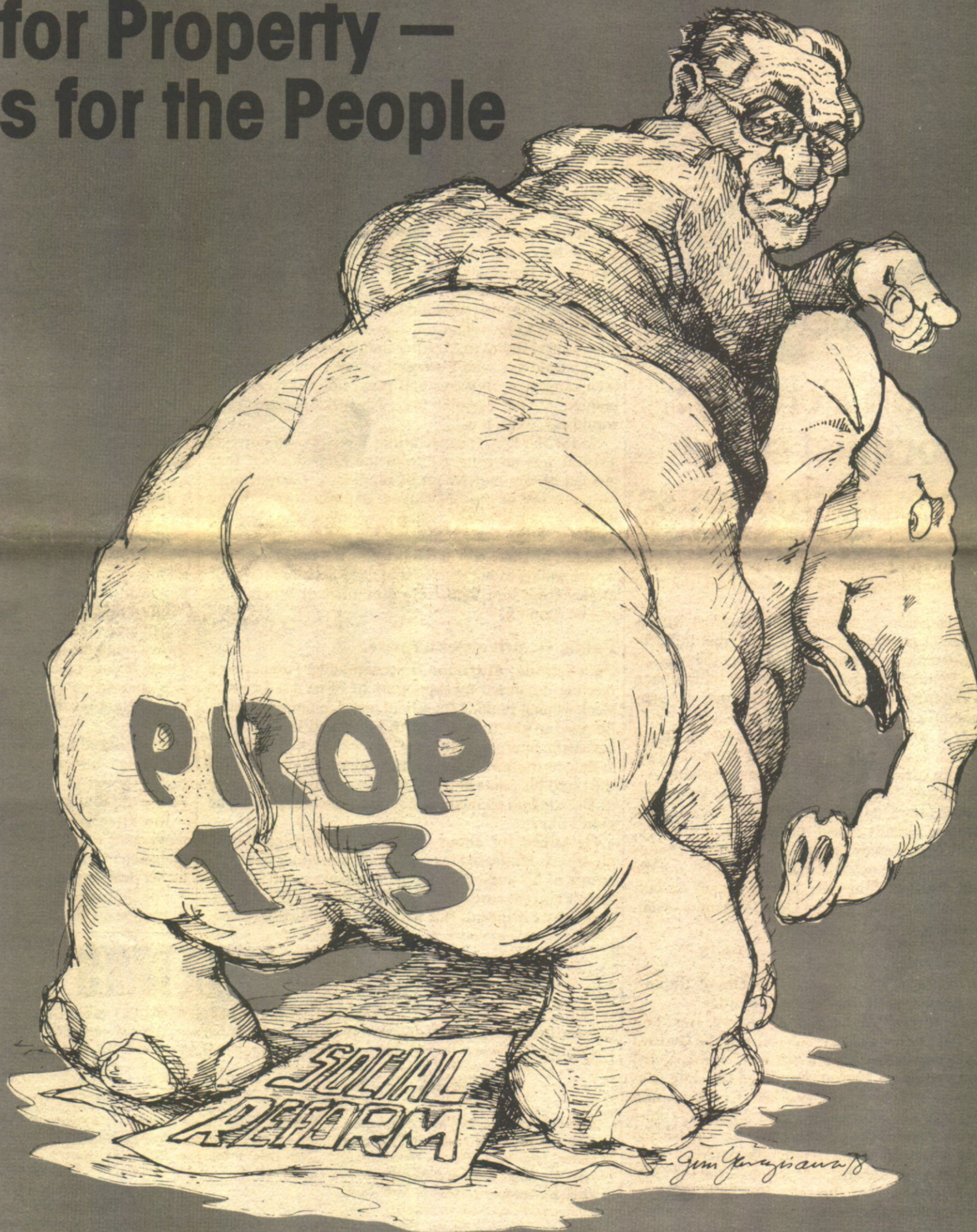


May 31 - June 6, 1978

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50 Cents

## California Tax Revolt: Relief for Property — A Mess for the People page 3



Cartoon by Jim Yanigasawa



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



John Judis

## Zolton Ferency: a socialist seeks Michigan statehouse

Recent socialist campaigns for higher office have invariably been underfinanced, underexperienced, and generally undernourished in the American political vernacular.

But Zolton Ferency, a democratic socialist who is running in the Democratic primary for governor in Michigan, is no newcomer to politics. Formerly the head of Michigan's Democratic party, he has ample roots among Michigan Democrats. His socialism comes out of America's democratic common sense tradition.

Presently a professor of criminology at Michigan State, he looks, acts, and talks like an honest county prosecutor, an office he once sought unsuccessfully.

Through a new Michigan campaign law, he has recently qualified for \$104,000 in state funds to match the \$52,000 he had already raised for the Aug. 8 primary. With relative unknowns as opponents and a Democratic party constituency still marked indelibly the labor-capital battles of the '30s, Ferency stands an outside chance of facing Republican Gov. William G. Milliken in a fall showdown.

### Chose sides early.

En route last week from Lansing to Grand Rapids, Ferency told me how he got started in politics.

The son of Hungarian immigrants, he was raised on Detroit's southwest side, near the scene of the General Motors sitdown strike. After a postwar stint as a civil servant and lawyer in Detroit, he joined the state government as a member of the Workers Compensation Board. In 1960, he became Gov. John Swainson's chief administrative assistant. And in 1963, he was elected the chairman of Michigan's Democratic party.

Ferency dates his socialist convictions from the '30s. "I chose up sides early," he said. But he is quick to distinguish his socialism from that of his "marxist friends," a term Ferency uses to denote the various Maoists and Trotskyists that he has had dealings with.

Ferency describes himself as a "non-doctrinaire political activist." When he describes himself as a socialist, he is careful to preface "socialist" with "democratic."

### Quits the Democrats.

In the '60s, Ferency's socialist convictions clashed with Democratic party priorities. In 1964, he angered the United Auto Workers, the backbone of Michigan's Democrats, when as party head, he rejected the compromise worked out at the Atlantic City convention on eating the Mississippi Freedom Democrats. The compromise had been engineered by the UAW's Walter Reuther.

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In 1967, he again angered state Democrats when he called for an antiwar Democrat to oppose Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Under fire, he resigned as party head, and after unsuccessfully trying to get George McGovern to challenge Johnson, he joined the McCarthy effort.

In the early '70s, fed up with the Democrats, he joined the Human Rights party (HRP), a new left party that won city offices in Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti before sputtering out in the wake of the war's end and the new left's demise.

Ferency had run for governor twice as a Democrat, getting 40 percent in 1966 against the popular George Romney, but being defeated in the primaries in 1970. In 1974, as HRP's most visible statewide figure, he again ran and lost.

Ferency defends his attempt to build the Human Rights party. "It needed to be done," he said. "But we started two years too late."

### Saving the Democrats.

In January 1977, with a new Michigan law making it impossible for third parties to get on the ballot, Ferency finally left HRP, and with other HRPers and Michigan members of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, he formed a Democratic Socialist Caucus (DSC) within the Democratic party. When I asked him whether its purpose was to take over the Democratic party, he said, "You use 'take over,' I'll use 'save,'"

In March, the approximately 200 members of DSC decided to run Ferency for governor. They believed, according to Ferency, that his campaign could "firmly establish DSC within the Democratic party."

But prior to any public announcement of his candidacy, they debated what kind of campaign he should run—specifically, "whether to put socialism up front or hide it behind economic democracy," as Tom Hayden had done in his California senate campaign. They decided on a middleground between the two extremes.

They thought that Ferency's own reputation as an eccentric but respectable gadfly and the historic ties of Michigan Democrats to the left would make it possible for Ferency to identify himself as a democratic socialist without getting redbaited out of existence. But they wanted him to focus his campaign on "central issues people would respond to," rather than on socialism itself.

"I would say who I am and where I am from, and then campaign on issues and programs," Ferency explained. "And if people say, 'Isn't that socialism?' I would say, 'Yes, it is.'"

So far the DSC's expectations have proved correct. Typical was an editorial from the *Flint Journal* that greeted his announcement of candidacy. Commenting on the irony of the "Michigan taxpayer [through the new campaign law] supporting a candidate who espouses socialism," the *Journal* nevertheless went on to say: "It may not be quite worth the price of the taxpayers, but we are willing to bet the taxpayers will get more for their money from him than from a number of others who will be running."

### Public vs. private enterprise.

On a Saturday afternoon, I accompanied Ferency to a meeting organized by supporters of Mary Lu Lewis, a black woman running for school board in Grand Rapids. Because of the rain, it had to be moved indoors to a basement rumpus room.

Before the meeting, Ferency reluctantly tucked his shirt into his pants and put on a wool shirt-jacket over it. Dressing up seemed the only part of campaigning he didn't like.

He talked for about 15 minutes before answering questions. He geared his remarks to the educational interests of his audience, and he touched as well on Milliken's current sore spots, his handling of PBB and nuclear waste disposal. But whatever issue he addressed,

he framed it within what he told them was the central issue in Michigan: public vs. private development; what private development has meant for jobs and the environment and what "public enterprise" could mean.

Michigan citizens had been hoping, Ferency explained, that by letting Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler have their way, "the benefits would trickle down." But that had not happened. Instead, Michigan had become the most vulnerable of all states to the ebb and flow of the national economy. ("When the nation's economy catches a cold, Michigan gets pneumonia.")

He told them that instead of putting Michigan's taxpayers' funds into "corporate bail-outs," they should begin putting state funds into public enterprises. He listed as immediate possibilities a state-owned bank like North Dakota's, public mass transit, including publicly-owned and rebuilt railroads, public gas and electricity, a state tourist industry, and a state gas-ahol plant to make gasoline out of alcohol from Michigan's sugar beets and forests.

Ferency ticked off examples of corporate attempts to aggrandize themselves at the state's expense. In his own city of Lansing, he explained, General Motors had recently asked for \$16 million in tax relief during a year when they had the greatest profits ever. "For \$16 million," he said, "they ought to give us part ownership of Fisher Body."

In the car, I asked Ferency whether he didn't think his policies would only antagonize Ford, GM, and Chrysler and, in the short run at least, cost Michigan citizens more jobs as the corporations chose to relocate outside of Michigan. "They're doing it anyway," he said. "I am running because I know I can't control them. I am the only candidate who knows this."

"We have to find alternatives to these corporations."

### A moderate progressive.

Most observers do not expect Ferency to win. He has gotten some support from union officials and from such prominent black Democrats as Congressman John Conyers and Detroit City Council member Ken Cockrel, but the UAW, not accustomed to endorsing primary candidates and still nursing wounds from the past, has stayed out of the race, and so has Detroit's mayor Coleman Young. Without their support, Ferency will have trouble in the Detroit area overcoming his opponents' better-financed campaigns.

His main opponent will probably be State Senator William B. Fitzgerald from affluent Grosse Pointe. Fitzgerald will attract Democrats unwilling to accept a democratic socialist, as well as Michigan's substantial Irish Catholic vote. (Fitzgerald opposes abortion.)

But Fitzgerald hurt himself with labor when he came out for "cleaning up" Michigan's worker compensation and unemployment compensation laws to eliminate what he calls "abuses." Chief among these are "voluntary quits," the right of workers to collect unemployment insurance after they quit a job.

Fitzgerald told me that he considers himself a "progressive moderate." He thinks that Milliken hasn't shown "toughness in the management of the state," which, according to Fitzgerald, should be run as "a service-oriented business." If elected, Fitzgerald promised he will "get business and labor together" on the state level.

He attacked Ferency for being on the "far left" and for being "unrealistic" about state problems. "I represent the art of the possible in improving the state," Fitzgerald told me.

But Fitzgerald will have to divide the "progressive moderate" vote among two other artists of the possible, State Senator Patrick H. McCullough and former Public Service Commissioner William R. Ralls.

For that reason among others, a democratic socialist may be on the ticket next November in Michigan. ■

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By Michael Berkowitz

BERKELEY, CALIF.

**I**N PAST YEARS PROGRESSIVE ACTIVISTS have used the initiative process to place before the state's voters the issues of conservation, nuclear power and legalization of marijuana. This year, however, right-wing activists have picked up the initiative.

Ultra-conservatives have succeeded in placing on the ballot a far-reaching proposal that may profoundly reshape the structure of local government, wipe out vital social services and shift the tax structure of the entire state.

The Jarvis-Gann Property Tax Initiative, known as Proposition 13, qualified for the June 6 ballot with the highest number of signatures ever accumulated for any initiative here. If passed, Proposition 13 would reduce property tax rates from 4 to 1 percent of assessed value, and would require a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to increase any state taxes.

The ground was certainly ripe for the initiative. Property values and local property taxes have been skyrocketing in California. In some cases market values have risen over 20 percent in a single year. Many low-income homeowners, unable to pay taxes, have been forced to sell their homes. Many more are threatened. Opposition to taxation was heightened by a sizeable surplus in the state treasury. At the same time, the California legislature and Gov. Jerry Brown were unable to agree on property tax relief measures—at least until the Jarvis-Gann initiative was put on the ballot.

Although it originated in conservative Orange County, the initiative's support appears to be state-wide. Initial polls showed support running almost two to one in its favor. That margin has been cut in recent months but the latest polls show public opinion so evenly divided as to be impossible to predict the outcome of the vote. One recent poll split 42-39 percent in favor of the initiative, with the remainder undecided.

#### Anti-government sentiment.

To many of its supporters the Jarvis-Gann initiative is a simple, one-issue measure: property tax relief. But two other strains have appeared in the positive response.

A strong anti-government bias has surfaced again and again. Government has been unresponsive, supporters have argued. Government has grown bloated, corrupt and inefficient.

A second strain of opinion has linked resentment against alleged welfare and social service abuses with the anti-government sentiment. The government has been subsidizing the poor and providing too many free services, at the expense of the "middle class," it was argued.

Social services have always been the soft underbelly of government spending; usually the last services to be offered, the first to be cut. Neither the public, nor politicians seem to have much sympathy for services. While welfare may be the most obvious target, everything from public health to public education has suffered decreasing support. School bond issues, once a motherhood and apple pie issue are now commonly defeated, teachers cut back, schools closed.

The Jarvis-Gann initiative would dramatically accelerate this trend. To cope with the fiscal effects of Jarvis' passage, Los Angeles plans to cut back half its teaching staff. San Francisco simply threatens to shut down its entire system.

If the initiative passes, warns legislative analyst William Hamm, "it is likely that 58 counties, 414 cities, 1044 school districts, 70 community college districts and 4,900 special districts will immediately descend on this legislature seeking relief.

But more than public education is at stake. The contingency plans made by one city offer an insight into the total impact of the Jarvis-Gann initiative. A medium-sized northern California city, Berkeley would receive approximately \$14.8 million as its 1978-1979 share of county property tax revenues. With the passage of Proposition 13, Berkeley would receive only \$3.2 million, or less than 25 percent of its usual share. In the words of City Manager Elijah Rogers: "The implications for the city, if this initiative passes, are catastrophic."

## TAXES

# California tax initiative may be a public disaster



Howard Jarvis (above) has been trying to cut government spending for years. Passage of his tax initiative may just do the trick.

### Public education, which would be one of the chief cutback areas if the initiative passes, is "one of the biggest Mafia rackets in the country," says Howard Jarvis.

His contingency plan reflects catastrophe. Eliminated would be the city's entire Comprehensive Planning department, all recreation programs, the city's much honored Department of Public Health and all city branch libraries. Police, fire and public works departments would be cut back 30 percent. All other programs and city departments would be cut between 10 and 30 percent. It would be unlikely that the Berkeley Redevelopment Agency would be able to pay off its outstanding bonds.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that the city's entire innovative program for funding community service

agencies will be scrapped. These 56 agencies include three health clinics, three mental health programs, four senior centers, four drug abuse treatment programs, two emergency food projects, two emergency shelter facilities and extensive programs to aide the physically disabled. These services are currently provided by grassroots community organizations, using community workers who labor long hours at low pay to provide services at a fraction of the price that local government or professionals could, reaching a clientele that is often ignored or neglected. The Jarvis-Gann initiative would result in the city dropping its contracts with these agencies.

IN THESE TIMES MAY 31-JUNE 6, 1978 3

Confronted with the initiative's social displacement both to those served and to those providing the services, many supporters are callous. Howard Jarvis says, "I don't give a damn."

Public education, one of the principle targets of the bill, is, according to Jarvis, "one of the biggest Mafia rackets in the country." The progressive income tax is "abusive, unfair and unequal."

Jarvis' John Birch Society ties and right-wing political activity are the ideological underpinnings informing his social perspective.

Jarvis has been portrayed as a folksy populist. According to one report, Jarvis, "talks too loud, wears wrinkled suits with shiny seats, spits into his lower desk drawer when the need arises, calls 65-year-old ladies girls, says exactly where people can shove things and talks about the days when he rode the campaign trail with Herbert Hoover."

But Jarvis is no populist. His initiative pits the interests of the middle and some lower middle classes (the home-owners) against a sizeable portion of the lower class.

Far from an underdog, Jarvis own personal wealth and substantial right-wing backing will enable him, he estimates, to buy \$600,000 worth of TV, radio and newspaper advertising to flood the media during the initiative's home stretch, during the end of May and beginning of June.

The Jarvis-Gann initiative came on so strong and so fast that opposition was slow to mount. Finally, fear of its passage forced the state legislature and Gov. Brown into action on property tax relief—in hopes of undercutting the appeal of Proposition 13.

#### Proposition 8.

Leading the opposition to the Jarvis-Gann initiative was liberal Republican State Senator Peter Behr. He offered legislation to provide property tax relief to be financed through the state's treasury surplus and a new tax on the sales of non-owner occupied homes.

The new tax was intended to discourage the speculation that has driven up the price of homes and thus assessments and property taxation. This provision was withdrawn, however, after California's huge real estate lobby rose up to stop it. The Behr bill, stripped of the tax, now relies entirely on the state treasury surplus to cut property taxes.

Although the Behr bill offers less tax relief than the Jarvis-Gann proposal, it would still substantially cut the taxes on private homes. It also contains some relief for renters and less of a tax cut for commercial property.

An enabling constitutional amendment for the Behr compromise, known as Proposition 8, is on the state ballot along with the Jarvis-Gann proposal. For the Behr bill to be enacted voters must vote down Jarvis-Gann and vote up Proposition 8.

A unique coalition of unions, politicians and business representatives has been formed to combat the Jarvis-Gann initiative. Key members include the California State Employees Association, the California Teachers Association, and the California Federation of Labor. Also included in the coalition are representatives of the Bank of America, Pacific Gas and Electric and the President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

The Jarvis-Gann Initiative is written so that business would stand to gain \$4 billion in property tax relief. Yet so unsettling would be the influences on government that the business community is split on the proposal. Howard Allen, vice president of Southern California Edison, fears it would "ruin local governments. Any advantages business would receive from this initiative would be short-term at best. That's why responsible state business leaders are against it."

Meanwhile, Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann are already mapping out their future campaigns and strategy. After cutting off revenues from property taxes, they are aiming at freezing income taxes. They have already prepared initiatives to this effect. They hope to serve as models for conservatives across the country who seek to cut out government services. ■ Michael Berkowitz is Community Services Administration Energy Coordinator for the City of Berkeley.



TION

## ABORTION

Right-to-lifers  
gaining in  
abortion fight

By Art Goldberg

**A** DETERMINED FIGHT BY those who oppose abortion is greatly modifying the scope and impact of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing the procedure.

Because of pressures exerted by the Right to Life movement and those who agree with it, 22 states, including Florida, Maine, Ohio, Illinois and New Jersey, will pay for abortions only if the mother's life is in danger. These states will not pay for elective abortions even for victims of rape or incest.

Twelve other states will pay for abortions for rape and incest victims. Only 16 states, including California, Colorado, Massachusetts and Michigan, still pay for most abortions for women on Medicaid.

These laws do not run counter to the Supreme Court decision since they do not ban abortions. Women who can afford them can still get legal abortions but the denial of public funding makes them extremely difficult—if not impossible—for poor women to obtain.

If those in the anti-abortion movement succeed, the Supreme Court's 1973 decision would be reversed. Twelve states have already passed legislation calling for a Constitutional Convention to write an amendment making the procedure illegal except where the life of the mother is in danger. Although few political analysts and proponents of abortion believe that enough states will call for a convention, they think Congress might be pressured into passing a constitutional amendment for the states to ratify.

"If they get close to the 34 states needed to call a convention, I'm sure Congress will act on its own," says Cory Richards of the national office of Planned Parenthood.

Mervin Field, a San Francisco-based pollster, has drawn a portrait of those opposed to abortion based on several studies and surveys in California. "The anti-abortion people feel more passionate and strongly," he said in an interview. "It's more important to them to have candidates running for office than it is for people who are pro-abortion." He says anti-abortion candidates are more vocal on the issue than candidates who favor abortion. "The one-issue people are very single-minded, and that makes it difficult for candidates [seeking political office]."

Abortion clinics in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Akron and Columbus, Ohio, and Omaha, Neb., and a Planned Parenthood center in St. Paul, Minn., have been the targets of vandalism, arson or firebombing. While no one has been apprehended in any of the cases, the incidents indicate the emotional fervor surrounding abortion.

It is the lawmakers who are bearing the brunt of the pressure exerted by the anti-abortionists. The U.S. Congress and state legislatures from Massachusetts to Hawaii have had to grapple with a flood of anti-abortion measures. Hundreds of politicians will be asked to take a position on the abortion issue before the November elections.

"This is a life and death issue," says Judie Brown of the National Right to Life Committee, "and we'll fight until we get what we want."

The right-to-lifers have been stunningly successful thus far. In 1976 and 1977 they persuaded Congress to amend a Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill

Continued on page 18.



## NATIONAL SYMBOLS

## Baby eagle ensnarled in red tape

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

**O**NCE THE BALD EAGLE WAS a familiar and commanding figure in America's skies, fierce, magnificent, independent. In a nation still spreading its own wings, swooping to seize the land and resources of a continent like so much carrion, the bird was soon adopted as a national symbol.

Today, though, as the U.S. encounters limits everywhere, the bald eagle is appropriately a seriously endangered species. What the deliberate destruction of hunters did not accomplish, the unintentional destruction of pollution almost has.

DDT, sprayed everywhere for years, concentrated in the tissues of the eagles' prey. In the birds, its effect was to soften their eggs' shells and make them almost unhatchable.

Recent figures place the total number of remaining active bald eagle nests in the lower 48 states at no more than 700. Only in Alaska, where 7,000 nests have been counted, does the species seem safe.

Into this deteriorating situation stepped the federal government, attempting as it has in so many other cases, to repair and control the ravages of unchecked growth and consumption: DDT was banned and the birds declared an endangered species; hunting them became illegal.

Whether this rescue effort came in time to save the eagles from going the way of the passenger pigeon is still too soon to judge, experts say. Certainly if the experience of the National Zoological Park here is any indication, the issue is very much in doubt.

Successful breeding of eaglets in captivity, which was always rare, has been all but ended in recent years. So, when a baby eaglet, named Irateba, was hatched here April 19, the zoo was ecstatic. It was the first successful hatching in five years at the Zoological Park.

"There was another successful hatching at the Miami Zoo just before our previous one," zoo spokeswoman Billy Hamlett

says. "And another eaglet was hatched at a zoo in Texas recently, but it was a small zoo and really didn't have the proper equipment or trained staff and the bird died."

"The proper equipment"—that's the title of the next chapter of the allegory.

**Time is short. If the eagle doesn't get into the wild soon, it will be forever trapped.**

For the National Zoo to bring off its coup, it was first necessary to eliminate the eaglet's natural parents from the process. The adult birds were untrustworthy ancestors anyway. Eggs kept disappearing from their nest; and since the birds are kept in their own private cage, the staff strongly suspected the eagles of eating them. Besides, the female could not be counted on to sit on the eggs; and when she did, their soft shells usually broke.

So as soon as the female eagle laid a clutch of three eggs in early March, they were spirited out of the nest by a zoo employee and carefully nestled in an incubator in which temperature and humidity were carefully controlled.

Two of the eggs turned out to be—typically—infertile. Once the remaining eaglet pecked its way out, it was given its name, which in the Mojave Indian language means "Beautiful bird."

Irateba was moved to a brooder, a glassed-in box that is also climate-controlled. It—"We don't know yet whether it's male or female," Hamlett explains—is fed a diet of raw white chicken meat, soaked in a special solution to provide moisture, and shot with vitamin and mineral supplements.

The eaglet has been responding well to this painstaking regimen. By May Irateba had tripled its birth weight, up to nine ounces of squawking fuzz.

But this response, while gratifying to its dedicated keepers, is troubling also. "We want to get Irateba out of here and

into a wild setting," Hamlett says. "If it continues to be hand-raised, it won't imprint properly and won't grow up to be an eagle." Instead, Irateba would be at best a pet, knowing only cage life, fit for nothing more than perching, gulping catered food and posing pompously for tourists' cameras.

The transfer to the wild, while risky, is at least possible. Hamlett says there is a laboratory game refuge in Maryland where there are wild eagle nests. "The eaglet would be accepted there and raised by the other eagles, and taught to hunt. It has been done before successfully."

Before they could make such a move, though, the zoo staff had to get past an obstacle as formidable as any they had yet faced: they had to complete the necessary paperwork. In order to save the bald eagles, the government has to keep track of them. This job has been delegated to the Interior department, which in turn has directed that before any captive member of a protected species can be moved from its home, its keepers must first be granted a permit.

"We have to get permits often when we move a protected animal from one zoo to another, for breeding or other purposes," a staff member explains. But the application process takes time, usually weeks; and for animals, that is often too long. "Sometimes by the time you've been able to get a permit," the staffer adds, "the whole occasion for it has passed. It's frustrating."

That may yet be the case with Irateba. After a series of delays, the zoo finally did get a permit for a move on May 10. But that move had to be cancelled because of problems in the nest where the zoo wanted to take Irateba.

Then on May 16 the eaglet developed a sinus infection that required draining by the zoo vet, and further delays. At press time Irateba remained at the zoo.

Time is short. If the eaglet doesn't get into the wild before it starts to fledge—that is, to learn to fly—it will have to stay in the zoo permanently, a welfare eagle. ■ *Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer in Washington.*



## TRIALS

# Jury hands down guilty verdict in Vietnam spy case

By Jack Colhoun

WASHINGTON

**O**N MAY 19, AFTER 16 HOURS of deliberation, an Alexandria, Va., federal court jury convicted Ronald L. Humphrey, a U.S. Information Agency analyst, and David Truong, a Vietnam national, on six counts of espionage and conspiracy against the U.S. on behalf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Although a date has not yet been set by Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr., both men face possible sentences of two life sentences plus 55 years.

The jury found Humphrey guilty of handling Truong State department documents. Truong in turn was convicted of passing them along to four Vietnamese in Paris and Hanoi named as unindicted co-conspirators. Vietnam's ambassador to the UN, Binh Ba Thi, was also named as an unindicted co-conspirator, but his name was stricken from the indictment by Judge Bryan before he sent the jury off to reach its verdict.

From the outset, the Carter administration's prosecution of the Vietnam espionage case has caused concern among those who followed it closely. The diplomatic papers in question were hardly what one would expect to find at the center of a major international spy case. For the most part, they were low-level cables analyzing post-Vietnam war conditions in Southeast Asia—for example, "French flights from Saigon," "Vietnamese External Relations," and "Hanoi Observers Comment on Vietnam." All but two of the nearly 100 documents had been assigned the lowest security classification of "Confidential," while the other two were marked "Secret."

During the trial, Truong's attorneys forced the administration to acknowledge an initial assessment made in 1977 that there was "little of a sensitive nature in the documents."

Under cross-examination, Donald Marsland, the FBI special agent overseeing the case, testified that he objected to this initial assessment because it "was not consistent with the pressure we were receiving from the State department."

A subsequent reassessment concluded that the compromise of the cables would result in "minor or no damage."

Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Kenneth Quinn helped prepare this second assessment. But on the witness stand, Quinn testified that the purloined papers were all related to the national defense, since "foreign relations are part of the national defense" and cannot be separated.

## Jesuit-like arguments.

Truong's lawyers released the CIA's National Assessment Center's March 1978 study that concluded a successful prosecution "could be a very close call" and predicted that "a number of the cables could be said at least tangentially to 'relate to the national defense' by a Jesuit." (The *New York Times* informed its readers that Jesuits, "a Catholic religious order, are widely known for the meticulous and determined arguments they make in defense of their beliefs.")

The CIA assessment, as well as other government witnesses, also reflected what Humphrey-Truong supporters believe to be at the root of the prosecution: the assessment observed, "perhaps the most respectable argument would be that the bulk of the materials deal with activities in Vietnam, which must still be considered an enemy state."

Truong's lawyer, Michael Tigar, characterized the administration's contradictory assessments and witnesses as being in "hopeless disarray." Tigar brought to the witness stand Morton Halperin, a former Kissinger aide on the National Security Council and current director of the Center for National Security Studies, who testified that "there is nothing in these documents relating to the national defense."

The defense's contention that the transmission of these documents did not constitute espionage has found surprising support from some anonymous administration officials. A Justice department official told the *Boston Globe*, "The State department sold us a bill of goods on the seriousness of this thing. It's clear to me we should have only gone for something a hell of a lot less than espionage. Then we wouldn't have looked so foolish trying to relate diplomatic gossip to the national defense."

A White House official was quoted by the *Globe* as saying, "This case is a giant embarrassment. It could have been handled the way a lot of counterintelligence cases are handled that never come to light."

"We could have had Humphrey quietly fired. And we could have approached the Vietnamese and said, 'Let's stop this junk before it gets worse.'... We look like brutal heavies throwing the book at two really tragic characters."

Neither Humphrey nor Truong denied their roles in transmitting the State department cables, but both strongly denied acting as agents for Vietnam for the purpose of espionage or acting with the intent of damaging U.S. national security.

Humphrey admitted giving Truong the documents after removing the classifications with the vague notion of contributing to the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Vietnam, thereby helping his common-law Vietnamese wife get her children out of Vietnam.

Truong, a well known supporter of reunified Vietnam, testified he sent the materials to members of the Association of Vietnamese in France for their use in their newspapers. Truong said he believed the cables to have been legitimately given and not injurious to U.S. national defense because the contents of many had already been published publicly.

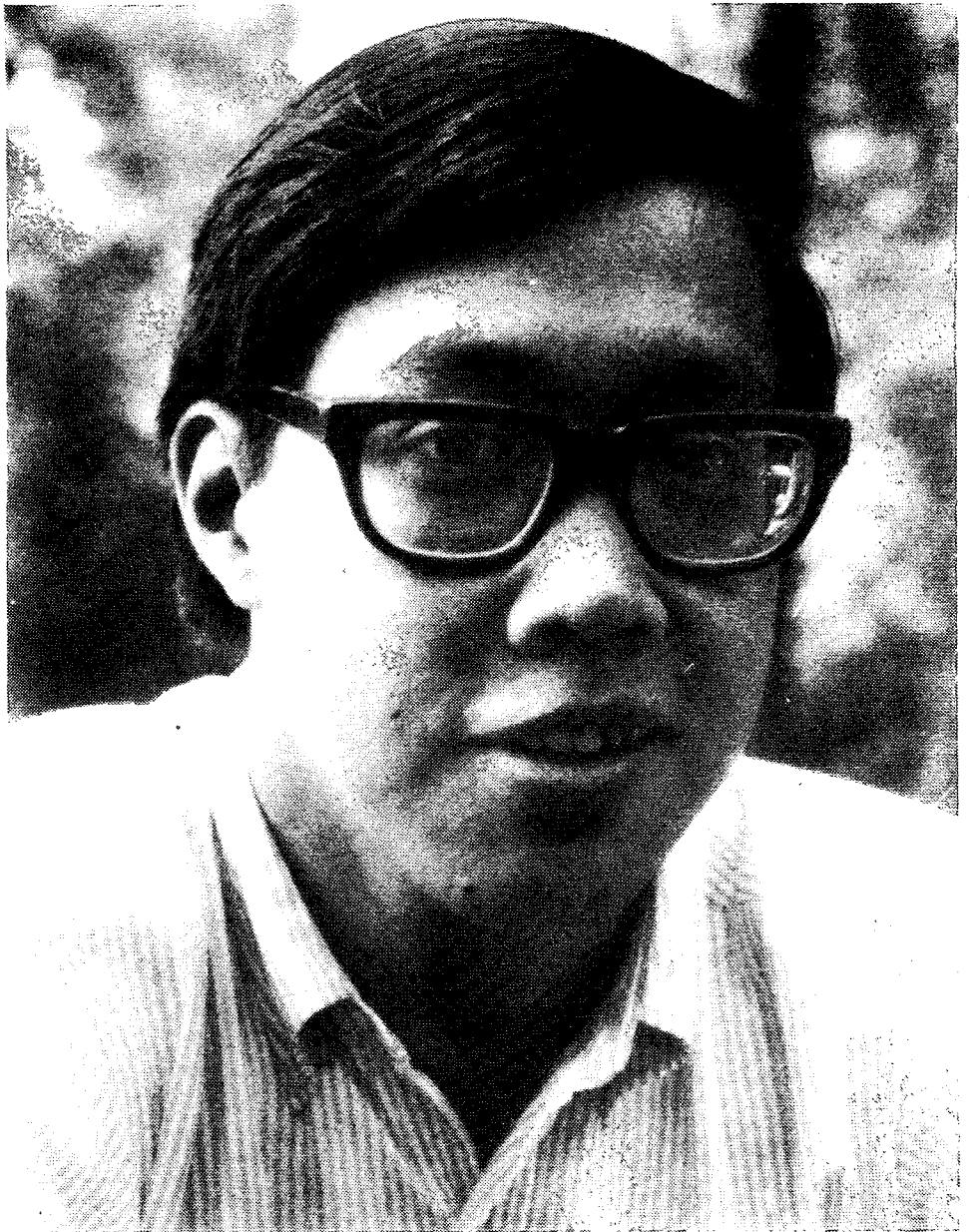
Truong explained he had been sending similar materials for years to members of Congress, other U.S. government officials, Asian scholars, his family in Vietnam and other Vietnamese living abroad, at first to help end the war and later to build support for normalized relations.

## Diplomatic expulsion not justified.

Soon after the federal grand jury indicted Humphrey and Truong, the Carter administration moved in early February to expel Ambassador Binh Ba Thi from his post at the UN. The administration contended that the grand jury named Thi as an unindicted co-conspirator, "based on precise evidence of his personal involvement" in the so-called spy ring. As the UN's host country, the U.S. was able to demand Thi's ouster for abusing the privilege of residence. But even in doing this Washington appears to have violated the UN's procedure in this regard.

The inclusion of Ambassador Thi in the indictment rested solely on the word of CIA/FBI agent Dung Krall.

At the time of the indictment, many were convinced that the administration would not have taken the unprecedented action of expelling an ambassador unless it had compelling evidence. However, on the witness stand under cross-examination by Tigar, Krall admitted that she had told



David Truong

From the outset observers questioned the administration's motives for prosecuting the case. The crime was just not serious enough to warrant all the concern.

the CIA: "Mr Thi is not a spy for Vietnam. He is a diplomat." "He is as sturdy as the sun that will rise in the morning; his position is firm." She said Truong once gave her a package of materials to deliver to Thi but that she never looked at the contents.

The administration's "precise evidence" fell like a house of cards. Consequently, Thi's name was removed from the indictment. The media paid very little attention to this aspect of the trial, in contrast to the wide coverage given to the administration's initial, unfounded charges against Ambassador Thi.)

## A message to Congress.

Another explanation for the government's handling of this case could be its desire to head off any substantive limitations on intelligence activities resulting from congressional reform. Prior to the trial, high-ranking Justice department officials conceded that President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell purposely chose not to seek warrants for the surveillance of Humphrey and Truong in order to fashion a test case for warrantless surveillance in national security matters while Congress was considering intelligence reform legislation.

The Vietnam Trial Support Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for National Security Studies, among others, share the concern that the trial was utilized as an instrument to affect the development of far-reaching policy questions beyond the scope of the case itself. According to Duane Shank, national coordinator of the Vietnam Trial Support Committee, "We've always felt there were political motivations behind the prosecution of this case."

Truong's lawyers are prepared to appeal the case after the sentences are set in late June. And the support committee's work will continue. Shank believes as long as Humphrey and Truong are in jail, the work of all political activists is threatened. "It's sad that three years after the end of the Vietnam war, Washington is still able to persuade a jury that Vietnam remains an enemy."

"The verdict does not diminish our support for David Truong, nor will it discourage our efforts toward normal U.S.-Vietnam relations," Shank concludes.

Jack Colhoun was an editor of *Amex-Canada*, the magazine of exiled war resisters in Canada. He is an historian who has written widely on the Vietnam war.



FORGE WORKER'S HANDS, Oakland California, 1977

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Syd Harris

## LABOR

# Labor law battle intensifies

By Dan Marshall

**F**OR THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS the chambers of the U.S. Senate will echo with debate over labor law reform. As pro-reform forces maneuver to stop a filibuster and fend off debilitating amendments, lobbyists on both sides of the question will besiege undecided Senators. When the final vote is taken, probably in mid-July, the controversy will likely be recognized as the most bitter labor-management confrontation in decades.

The historic importance of the Labor Law Reform Act of 1978 (S.2467) is difficult to overestimate. Since 1935, when American workers won the legal right to organize unions and bargain collectively through the Wagner Act, the labor movement has undergone successive waves of governmental restrictions on its activities and powers. These changes gradually strengthened the ability of employers to resist unionization. This option wasn't pursued much in the post-war period. Unions were accepted as "stabilizing influences"—at least in the major sectors of the economy—integral to the smooth functioning of corporate-dominated society. But in recent years the fundamental hostility of employers toward unions has surfaced once again.

Corporate interests have launched a major offensive against unions, both in the political arena and in contract negotiations. Through organizations like the Business Roundtable and the Chamber of Commerce, business has stepped up its lobbying activities and constructed well-financed political machines throughout the country. Collective bargaining increasingly revolves around "take-away" demands whereby employers attempt to win back long-held union gains in working conditions and job rights.

## Unions on defensive.

Unions, meanwhile, are on the defensive. Union membership has declined in proportion to the total workforce and, from 1974 to 1976, in absolute terms. Last year unions lost more representation elections than they won, according to National Labor Relations Board figures.

The defeat of common site picketing in 1977 also whetted the anti-union appetites

of corporate executives who, in alliance with right-wing organizations like the National Right to Work Committee, are moving in for the kill.

The outcome of the labor law reform battle will serve as a decisive measurement of the strength of this renewed management offensive and the ability of labor to resist.

The AFL-CIO argues that labor law reform is a modest, reasonable piece of legislation that will redress the constructive "balance" between labor and management and not jeopardize the labor relations of law-abiding companies. It is aimed primarily at employers who flagrantly break the law or utilize long procedural delays to avoid unionization.

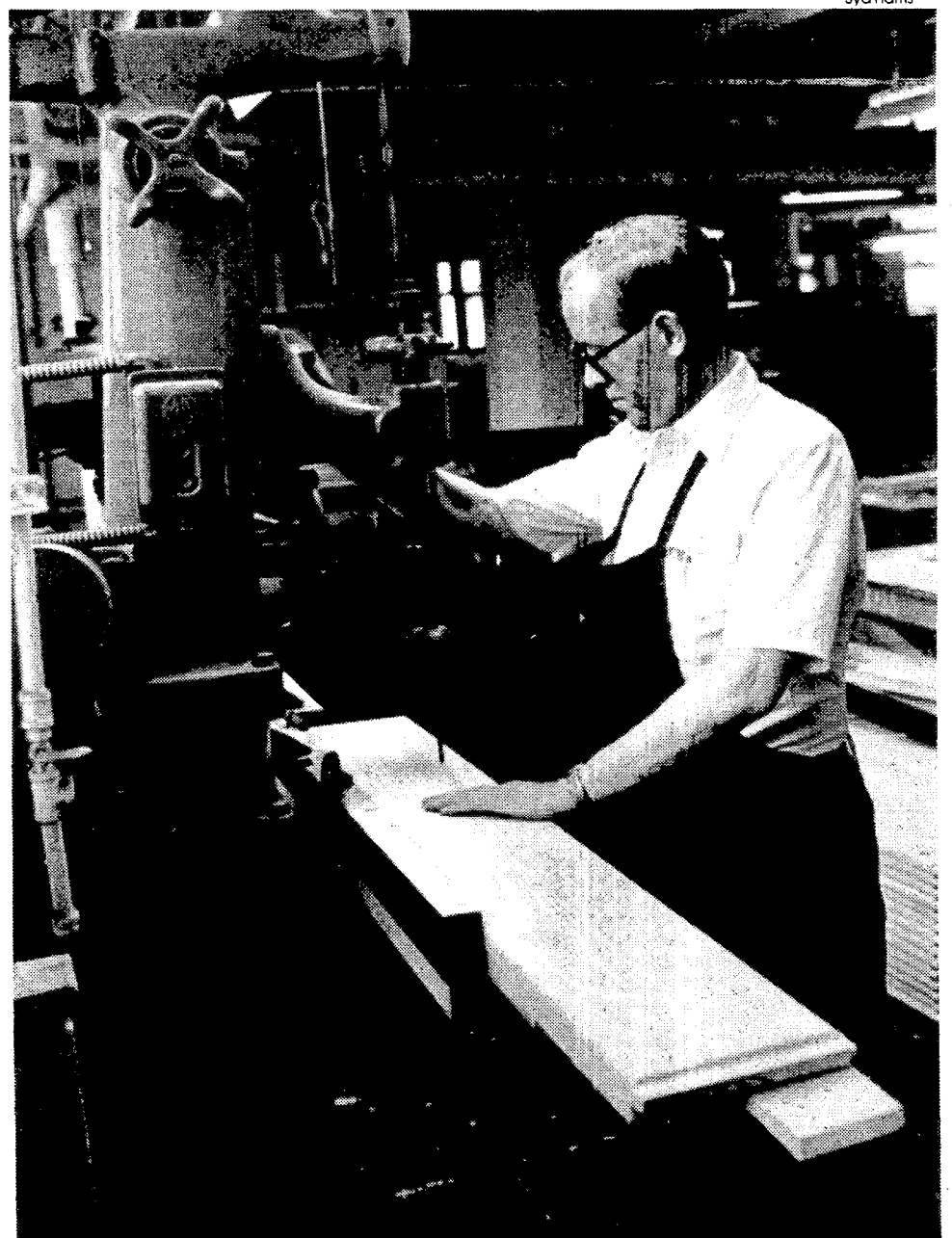
The bill, a similar version of which was passed by the House of Representatives last October, would:

- Expand the NLRB from five to seven members in order to speed the processing of unfair labor practices cases, which have substantially increased since 1960;
- Empower the NLRB to seek preliminary injunctions against employers who illegally fire workers during organizing campaigns or before the negotiation of a first contract;
- Grant one and one-half times back pay, less interim earnings, to workers illegally fired during organizing efforts;
- Set maximum time limits for the conduct of union representation elections; and
- Bar employers who have "willfully violated" Board orders from federal contracts for three years.

To press passage of the bill, the AFL-CIO set up a special Task Force on Labor Law Reform, encouraged individual unions to mount their own campaigns, and planned to create a committee of 20 to 25 corporations to support the legislation. That committee never materialized.

## Business hostility.

Instead the AFL-CIO confronted an unprecedented business lobbying campaign that has utilized "grass roots" techniques developed by the consumer, environmental and anti-war movements. Groups like the Business Roundtable, which ordinarily views congressional legislation in the light of corporate liberalism, have lined up with the more hard-line, anti-union organizations like the National Association



Syd Harris

of Manufacturers in an effort to shoot down the bill.

Organized labor, in coalition with women's, environmental, minority, religious and consumer groups, outmaneuvered this business power bloc in the House. (ITT, Oct 19, 1977). Reform opponents, however, vowed to stop the bill in the Senate through filibuster—the legislative equivalent of the tactics used to block unions.

Through the National Action Committee, a coalition of about 500 corporations and trade associations, business forces have spent an estimated \$5 million to buy

newspaper ads, commission studies of the bill's "inflationary impact," and generate postcards from business constituents in opposition to the Senate bill. To lobby uncommitted legislators, corporate jets have shuttled thousands of distraught small businessmen into Washington. Conservative columnists like James Kilpatrick have poured out a steady stream of distortions about the "bill to benefit union bosses." An hysterical spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce even predicted that the law would triple union membership within ten years.



### New forms of lobbying.

To counter this management blitz, organized labor mounted "its strongest, most heavily financed lobbying effort in years," according to the *New York Times*. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) put out the word that the labor bill vote would be given "more of a priority" in determining which Senators receive future AFL-CIO support. Over 2.1 million pro-reform postcards have been received by Senators.

In their House and Senate campaigns the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions reportedly have spent up to \$2.5 million to cut through business rhetoric and make sure that Senators understand the actual substance of the bill.

The intensity of the business campaign has also prodded organized labor to move away from its traditional lobbying techniques toward grass-roots-oriented tactics. The "coalition-building" strategy, now being advanced by AFL-CIO president George Meany and his closest advisors, was decisive in moving labor law reform through the House. For the Senate campaign, the AFL-CIO is bringing 35-50 "victims" of corporate anti-union tactics into Washington each week to convince their representatives to support the bill.

The "victim's vigil" (see accompanying article) represents, according to a union source, a "significant departure" for the AFL-CIO, which usually relies on its professional lobbying staff. "It's a real worker's lobby involving rank and filers and staff-people from different levels of

the unions' hierarchies. This is quite different from how the AFL-CIO has proceeded in recent years."

Despite business assertions that labor law reform is a "naked power grab" by organized labor, impartial observers predict that passage would not have immediate, dramatic consequences. Most unions have deemphasized organizing in relation to collective bargaining since WWII. A great crusade to "organize the unorganized" would necessitate a basic reordering of priorities. Indeed, the AFL-CIO has "no plans for a great organization campaign" if the provisions are enacted, Meany remarked at a recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting.

Both sides concede that the bill would pass if a straight yes-no vote were held today. To stop that from happening, Senate critics, led by Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and backed by the Republican party establishment, are conducting a filibuster.

Because the bill is supported by President Carter and by the Senate's Democratic leadership, observers expect a cloture vote to win in mid-June. Proponents will then have to counter a flurry of 500 amendments that Hatch has promised to introduce to further delay passage.

The political strength of organized labor in the near future may hang in the balance. "Opponents to labor law reform are clearly after the labor movement itself," says a congressional staffer. "If the leaders of the AFL-CIO can't deliver on this one, they're in trouble. A defeat here would be a substantial blow to their ability to function on a national level." ■

## Victims lobby for labor law reforms

*As the Senate discusses labor law reform, hundreds of victims of labor law violations are coming to Washington, D.C., with first-hand proof of the necessity for labor law reform. The "Victim's Vigil," organized by the AFL-CIO, is intended to confront Senators with the irrefutable stories of how rank and file organizers have been fired, harassed and intimidated by employers trying to block unionization. The interviews below give a representative sampling of these testimonies.*

—Dan Marshall

### Larry Stetney, Cadillac, Mich.

"Our organizing attempt at WWTW in northern Michigan began in October 1974. We tried to bring in the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, NABET, to cover about 45 engineers, TV news announcers, radio announcers and television production people.

"The company realized that if they could delay the process long enough the people who were for the union would get upset enough to leave and find other jobs. They tried to make it very uncomfortable for employees who supported the union. But we got about 75 percent of the unit in [authorization] cards and won the election.

"It was after the election that we encountered real opposition from the company. They never expected us to win. The company started maneuvering people around to undesirable positions. They tried to make one female news reporter into a secretary, for instance.

"They also held up all raises and conducted surface bargaining. They never really intended to reach an agreement. Sure they'd sit down at the bargaining table, but make no attempt to get any concrete agreement. They insisted on unreasonable demands and didn't come in with any rational counter-proposals. Just all of the stall tactics, hoping everyone would quit.

"There were several terminations. The company was willing to fire people because they knew they would save money in the long run. Even if they had to hire the person back or pay them back wages,

it would still be cheaper than paying the higher wages and fringes. After we filed complaints, the [National Labor Relations] Board issued three separate complaints against them for unfair labor practices. We were on strike for five months protesting one of those practices.

"In October 1976 we finally got a contract. What should have been a six-month procedure was dragged out to two years. What finally convinced them to sign a contract was not pressure from the NLRB, but the fact that they were possibly violating Federal Communications Commission rules because they were breaking federal laws.

"With this labor law reform, the key issue is that it would speed things up. Companies no longer could use the law to delay the unionizing process. (The law includes time limits for union representation elections and penalties against employers who fail to bargain in good faith.)"

### Bob Isenhour, Anderson, Ind.

"I work for Carter Industrial Services in Anderson, Ind., and became involved in organizing a union in February, 1978. As soon as the company found out about the campaign, they harassed people and tried to keep them from being informed of their rights.

"We work on a piece-rate system. People identified as union supporters were given substandard work. I was told, for example, to repair parts that had been thrown out for scrap. But the people wearing badges supporting the company were given parts that needed very little repair. So the pro-union people got under their rate of 20 parts per day, which is grounds for being written up and dismissed.

"A lot of other things were done. I couldn't leave my area for any reason without talking to my foreman. So whenever I tried to go and pick up replacement parts, I was chewed out in front of the whole factory and humiliated.

"Worst of all, the companies' tactics kept people afraid to come to union meetings and find out what their rights really were. The factory employs 60 people and I had 43 cards signed supporting the union.

The first day the company found out about the union, six people were dismissed when they didn't show up for work. They wanted to show people that they would be fired if they wanted this union in.

"We had captive [on company time] audience meetings every night for about three weeks prior to the election. Half an hour before quitting time, they would get everybody into a group session and read a presentation written by their corporate lawyer. It was timed so that it would end just as the whistle blew. Since people

**The court gave me back my job, but the company refused. And there's not a thing that can be done under the present law.**

wanted to get home they had no chance to get their questions answered.

"The company was able to persuade the vote. I know of three men who were promised foremen's jobs if the union lost. They signed cards before the election, and then switched when they were promised jobs. One man was given an additional half-day pay to come in and vote against the union. Another guy was bribed with two new tires the company bought for his car. The final election came out 23 to 22. The union lost.

"There has to be some forum where somebody can come into the plant and inform people of what their rights really are. When I tell them their rights, all they see is me getting harassed and nothing being done about it. As far as my fellow workers are concerned, the company has gotten away with everything they have done to me.

If this labor law reform is passed, this captive audience thing could not be used, to keep people totally in the dark. (Union representatives would have the legal right to address employees on company time if captive audience meetings are held.) This law would help people hear both sides."

### Donna Terry, Berea, Ky.

"I used to work at Goodyear Aerospace in Berea, Ky. We produced brake linings and housing equipment for heavy equipment. It was a new plant when I started there and they were doing people bad from the very beginning. When I became active in a union campaign, I saw management constantly harass employees wearing UAW (United Auto Workers) badges. They would follow people around

and get very nasty about asking why they were for the union. Because of this, we lost the first election by about 15 votes.

"In a later organizing campaign management took me into their office and started talking about my brother who is a personnel director at another plant in this area. They told me that unless I stopped they would do something to cause my brother to lose his job. This got me very upset. They again harassed people pretty bad during the campaign and we lost the election.

"Again, I became active in a campaign. This is when things really went bad. When we were getting [union authorization] cards signed, I was taken into the manager's office and given a second warning for absenteeism. I never got a verbal warning or a first warning! I had just had surgery, but I always had a doctor's slip when I was out.

"Then a few days before the election, they had a meeting in the plant manager's office. I and another union activist were wearing UAW badges. The plant manager told us: we don't get mad at anyone wanting a union, but we do get even. Then he laughed about it! At the end of the meeting, he ordered us to put a no-vote into the election box. To buy people's votes they gave retroactive raises. Again we lost the election.

"Then I had to be off for a few days because of doctor's orders. As soon as I got back they took me into the manager's office and fired me. They said it was for absenteeism. Suddenly they're whole absentee policy had changed! They wouldn't accept doctors' excuses.

"After we took them to court, the court ordered Goodyear to put us back to work. But they said no. We're just being done real dirty. And there's not a thing that can be done because of how the law is written. If this labor law reform bill had been active, we'd be working right now. My husband's disabled, I'm the mother of two kids, and I can't get a job in my own home town because I've been blacklisted.

"Right now these companies are giving the government a run-around. And it's the little people who are being hurt. Without this bill, people will be scared to get into a union campaign. They can't afford to be out of work four or five years. If companies were penalized, they would think twice before committing unfair labor practices."

## Amendment would cripple wildcats

Senate sponsors of the labor law reform bill, in order to placate business opposition, have inserted several weakening provisions into the legislation.

One of the most ominous amendments, tacked on by the Senate Human Resources Committee, deals with the issue of "stranger picketing." Specifically directed at wildcat strikes in the coal industry, it would broaden the courts' jurisdiction to curb the picketing of facilities not directly involved in a labor dispute.

According to recent Supreme Court decisions, the UMW is not liable for strikes during the contract term when they occur over issues not subject to the contractual grievance procedure. During wildcat strikes, employers now are required to determine the identity of "stranger pickets" and prove that they do not work at the mine they are picketing in order to obtain a court injunction. The pickets can avoid this simply by wearing ski masks, a common practice in coal-field wildcats.

The "stranger picketing" amendment

ily obtain injunctions, not against the pickets themselves but against the workers who refuse to cross their picket lines. The amendment specifies that any "concerted refusal to work" is subject to injunctive relief, which is granted automatically after the employer proves that a work stoppage in breach of contract has occurred.

The UMW, which adamantly opposes the amendment, is working to have it deleted from the bill. "This basically inserts the courts further into the labor-management mess in the coalfields," says Chris Lopiano of the union's legislative department. "All employers have to prove to get an injunction is that the guys didn't come to work. If this thing passes, the miners' reaction will be union-wide solidarity—which means the biggest damn wildcat you've ever seen."

The UMW has received dozens of phone calls from concerned miners about the provision and expects some sort of demonstration soon to place pressure on coal-state Senators. ■



## CITIES

# Black mayor heralds change for New Orleans

By Bill Rushton

NEW ORLEANS

**Y**ESTERDAY IS NOT OUR DAY to recover," Ernest N. "Dutch" Morial, newly elected mayor of New Orleans, told an inauguration day audience that overflowed the steps and broad plaza in front of City Hall May 1, "but tomorrow is ours to win or lose.

"Now, in constructive racial and ethnic communion," he continued, "the economic salvation which has been the unfulfilled heritage of this city for more than 100 years is within our reach. This time it will not escape us."

To outsiders, Morial's historical reference may seem elliptical or obscure, but New Orleans, particularly the city's black Creoles, well understood the reference to the city's ante-bellum "Golden Age"—when blacks had a level of personal and cultural freedom unknown elsewhere.

In 1724 Louisiana's French colonial administrators issued the *Code Noir*, regulating the rights and obligations of planters and black slaves. This document specified conditions under which slaves could be set free, and subsequently a large population of *gens de couleurs* or "free people of color" developed. The 1840 New Orleans census, for instance, counted 59,519 whites and 19,266 free *gens de couleurs*.

Noticeably lighter skinned because of a racial mixing, the free black population was intimately interrelated with the white Creole (city) and Cajun (country) elements of the rest of the area's population. Black banks, insurance companies, literary societies, French language newspapers and a few precious volumes of black Creole poetry testify to the brilliance and diversity of this extraordinary culture. The overwhelmingly Catholic black Creoles even worshipped in the same church buildings as whites until early into the 20th century.

By the early 20th century, however, Jim Crow segregation had come not only to Louisiana's Catholic churches but to all other institutions and public facilities as well. Although the descendants of the free black Creoles managed to retain an independent identity, they had as few rights as blacks elsewhere in the South.

## Remembering the bars.

Dutch Morial grew up in this context in the Seventh Ward's predominantly black Creole Faubourg Marigny of a cigar-maker father and a seamstress mother, both of whom still spoke French when he was a child.

"When I was a small boy," Morial reminisced in his inaugural address, "I daily passed a beautiful park near Elysian Fields Avenue. Children were always playing there in a kind of freedom that came to them naturally. But because of the laws of my childhood, I was allowed to do no more than look through the bars of the fence. I have never forgotten those bars."

Nor has he ever stopped struggling against them. A graduate of the black Creoles' Xavier University, he went on to become the first black graduate of Louisiana State University's law school.

In 1954 Morial returned to New Orleans from Baton Rouge and joined the firm of A.P. Tureaud, at that time the only other black attorney in the city. Tureaud, who was to be Morial's mentor, was founder of the Orleans Parish Progressive Voters League, the city's first modern black political organization and a staff attorney for the NAACP.

Tureaud and Morial desegregated New Orleans' public schools, restaurants at the airport and downtown hotels, and taxicabs. The day LSU's new branch campus

As a leading civil rights crusader, Dutch Morial has already affected the quality of life in New Orleans. As mayor he'll have more leverage.

in New Orleans opened Morial filed suit to integrate it too.

Morial became president of the NAACP and increased its membership from 2,000 to 7,000. He eventually organized the largest civil rights march in New Orleans history.

In 1967 he became the first black elected to the state legislature since Reconstruction. When Gov. John McKeithen, a racial moderate, appointed him to the 1968 Democratic convention delegation, Morial promptly sued for more black slots. McKeithen subsequently appointed him to the state judiciary, where he rose to the bench of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, becoming the highest-ranking black judge in the South.

But still, none of this was quite enough. Morial wanted to be mayor of New Orleans—its first black mayor. In 1969 he ran for the Councilman-at-large seat vacated by Moon Landrieu, the white former state representative elected mayor in that same election. Landrieu backed Morial's councilmanic bid, but Morial narrowly lost to Joseph DiRosa. Ironically enough, it was DiRosa who Morial faced in the 1977 primary run-off to become Landrieu's successor.

## Reaching for support.

Coming into New Orleans' 1977 non-partisan open primary for mayor, none of the seven major candidates was given a chance for a first ballot win—and Dutch Morial was considered the darkest horse of all.

The leading contenders were three whites. Toni Morrison was a young and popular state representative and son of former Mayor DeLesseps Morrison—who had once barred Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall from addressing a Morial-organized NAACP function in the city's Municipal Auditorium.

State Senator Nat Kiefer, a bitter foe of Moon Landrieu, came from the city's most prestigious lawfirm and was backed by the maritime industry, the city's largest.

Councilman DiRosa had high visibility, including a number of well-publicized luncheon encounters with local rackets figure Carlos Marcello.

Morial had the least amount of money, and most of that had been raised by a series of entertainment galas featuring the city's best black musicians. But Morial knew he would get almost all of the black vote, and so he quietly and shrewdly set out to garner key but neglected elements of the white vote.

Exactly one year prior to his inauguration, Morial made one such move when he showed up at a gay-organized cocktail party fundraiser to fight Anita Bryant's summer appearance scheduled in New Orleans ten days after the Dade County vote. When 3,000 people later marched on Bryant's concert, Morial issued a strong statement that was re-echoed in his inaugural address: "It may be a cliché, but it is also a truism that when one restrains social and economic progress from another, he withholds it from himself."

It soon became apparent that Morial would make it into the second primary—in fact, he led the field—so by Novem-



Ernest N. "Dutch" Morial, newly elected mayor of New Orleans, has a long history of activism; from integrating the schools, to more than tripling the membership of the local NAACP.

ber the question was which white candidate would join him. Despite a last-minute endorsement from Landrieu, Morrison came in fourth.

DiRosa, who had made his reputation fighting the local private utility monopoly (gas, electricity, transit), long controlled by the city's Anglo-Episcopal mafia, staged a brilliant last-minute campaign coup when he sent out bogus utility bills for \$400 to every registered voter in New Orleans. He narrowly beat out Kiefer for the second slot. (Most observers say Kiefer could have defeated Morial.)

DiRosa's racial record wasn't good, and his underworld ties sent the New Orleans establishment into a tailspin. Still, the big white money did not start flowing into Morial's coffers until after his first—and as it turned out, his last—televised debate with the inarticulate DiRosa.

In addition to the gay vote, Morial's white constituency was swelled by a heavy Jewish vote (Uptown's Jewish councilman Frank Friedler was the only member of the Council to endorse him) and the Latino vote that had gone to Morrison in the first primary.

## Transition.

During the transitional period between the election and the inaugural Morial appointed a host of advisory citizens committees, including one to choose a new

police chief. Headed by Xavier University's president, and including representatives of all the city's diverse communities (including the gays), the committee unanimously picked four nominees from outside the city. (The final appointee is expected to clean house at the New Orleans Police Department.)

His second day in office Morial announced he would establish a special bureau for women inside his government—an important move in Louisiana, a state that has yet to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

New Orleans is the nation's fourth blackest city and the most powerful political center in the third blackest state in the country. With its port, the nation's second largest by volume and the strategic entry point to the Mississippi River valley, New Orleans may stand on the threshold of reclaiming its multi-cultural destiny.

"History will someday record that today a quiet revolution took place in New Orleans when, for the first time, a black man assumed the office of mayor," Morial predicted on inauguration day. The extent of that revolution could animate American cultural and political life for decades to come.

Bill Rushton is the author of *The Cajuns: From Acadia to Louisiana*, to be published this fall by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.



# IN THE WORLD

## LATIN AMERICA

# Dominican military seizes ballot boxes

By Alan Howard

**T**HE CLOUD OF CIVIL WAR ONCE again loomed over the Dominican Republic. The often brutal but fundamentally fragile regime headed by Joaquin Balaguer, imposed on the country a dozen years ago by U.S. Marines and nurtured by four successive administrations in Washington, was shattered in the early morning hours of May 17 when still unidentified elements of the Dominican military seized the ballot boxes throughout the nation and effectively brought the national elections to a halt.

The military move came with the opposition Dominican Revolutionary party's (PRD) candidate Antonio Guzman leading Balaguer by a two-to-one margin and pulling ahead steadily. For the next 36 hours there was no official word on what had happened or why, but the suspension of news broadcasts, the martial music being played over the radio and television and the heavily armed military patrols roaming the deserted streets of Santo Domingo, the capital, had all the earmarks of a classic coup.

Hundreds of PRD officials and poll-watchers, particularly in the countryside and interior cities, were arrested and forced into hiding. The party responded by taking out full-page ads in the still publishing daily press declaring their candidate the rightful winner of the election and promising "to oppose force with force."

With a bloody confrontation imminent, the protagonists began to lower their voices. The head of the armed forces insisted that no coup had taken place and that the counting of ballots would soon resume; Balaguer took to the airways to announce that he would recognize the outcome of the elections, and blamed the whole military operation on an unnamed "lieutenant startled by rumors of a coup."

"Whatever made the military move, it has placed Balaguer in a no-win situation," a State department official told *IN THESE TIMES*. "If he is declared the winner, no one will believe it. If he recognizes Guzman, he leaves the field to the military and the PRD to battle it out. And calling for a new election isn't much better than declaring himself the winner."

### An ominous discrepancy.

The Central Election Board took nearly a week to resume its public reporting on the progress of the count, which it said could take as long as a month to complete. The count was suspended again with about 65 percent of the vote tallied and showing Guzman leading 627,000 to 497,000. A major reason for the delay in getting the rest of the results is that many of the local election officials in the interior of the country, still in possession of their records, cannot be found, since many have been jailed as PRD sympathizers or are hiding.

But these figures released by the election board do not portend an easy solution to the current impasse. For one thing, the margin is considerably less than the one registered when the military seized the ballot boxes on May 17. Furthermore, the PRD has released figures that it states are based on tallies from its poll-watchers and officials covering 90 percent of the voting districts and show an overwhelming victory for Guzman of 1,263,369 to 774,262. Shortly thereafter, the press secretary for Balaguer's Reformist party announced that based on their figures Balaguer had won the election by 180,000 votes.

This discrepancy is ominous, confirming fears that an increasingly isolated



Revolutionary party presidential candidate Antonio Guzman (left) with his vice-presidential running-mate Jacobo Majuita.

## A new civil war may be imminent. Revolutionary party candidate Antonio Guzman has promised to "oppose force with force," if the military blocks his election.

group of Balaguer supporters in the armed forces and the Reformist party, more than likely encouraged by Balaguer himself, are not prepared to hand over the government to the PRD. Virtually all independent observers, including an Organization of American States delegation made up of the former presidents of Guatemala, Colombia and Ecuador, believe that an honest count of the vote would show Guzman the winner.

More significant, it is fairly evident that most Dominicans share this impression. The newspapers are filled with statements and advertisements from literally hundreds of groups, ranging from the Chamber of Commerce to labor unions and small neighborhood clubs, as well as a broad spectrum of the 12 political parties participating in the election. The statements reflect a generalized sentiment that the PRD won the election and that it is better to accept this result than to live with the consequences of trying to undo it.

"This idea is slowly being assimilated, even in sectors of the government," the editor of a Santo Domingo daily newspaper told *IN THESE TIMES* May 25. "We expect an official announcement of Guzman's victory within the next few days."

### Fear of U.S. intervention.

While the Dominican Republic faces a period of tense uncertainty in the immediate future (a date to keep in mind is Aug. 16, constitutionally mandated for the installation of the new government), it will also be a time of testing for Jimmy Carter's foreign policy.

At the prodding of liberals inside and outside the U.S. government, Carter and the State department have issued statements insisting that the democratic process should be respected in the Dominican Republic, and have promised to review all aid agreements with this condition in mind. What Washington fears most is a recurrence of the situation that

led to the 1965 rebellion in Santo Domingo and the subsequent intervention by 30,000 U.S. troops.

The parallels are indeed disturbing. The earlier crisis was precipitated by the 1963 presidential election of then PRD leader Juan Bosch, following decades of dictatorial rule by Rafael Trujillo. (Bosch broke with the PRD in the early 1970s to form the Dominican Liberation party.) The military allowed Bosch to assume office, but then overthrew his government seven months later. The 1965 crisis broke out when a popular rebellion, led by a pro-PRD faction within the military, rose up against the ruling military junta that had ousted Bosch. The rebellion's battlecry was a return to constitutional rule and Bosch to the presidency.

The U.S. intervention opposed the PRD then, blocked its return to power and, virtually at the point of American bayonets, ended up by installing Balaguer—a loyal assistant of Trujillo. For the next dozen years the U.S. supported Balaguer through two dubious re-elections, characterized by massive fraud, intimidation and outright repression. During those years Balaguer displayed extraordinary skill in maintaining control over rival military and political factions through an elaborate system of corruption that produced millionaire generals, sweetheart contracts for a handful of transnational corporations like the Gulf and Western conglomerate and the Falconbridge mining concern, and growing frustrations among the impoverished masses of this nation of five million people.

### Member of Socialist International.

But like any historical analogy, the limits of this one must also be noted. The PRD today is not the same party of 1965. It is not generally seen as a threat to U.S. national security or the capitalist world order.

It has become a member of the Socialist International. The parties of the Socialist

International have been outspoken in their support for the PRD in the current crisis and are applying pressures that simply didn't exist in 1965.

The program of the PRD today is essentially moderate with populist overtones, calling for re-negotiation of some of the more embarrassing transnational contracts, stepped-up land reform measures, which could effect Gulf and Western's extensive holdings, salary increases for a work force that has endured a 12-year freeze on wages, and a campaign against corruption.

While these measures may not appear particularly radical outside the Dominican Republic, they undoubtedly represent a threat to sectors within the country who have grown accustomed to their privileges and still regard the PRD as a somewhat unknown and possibly even revolutionary element. Balaguer may not step aside without a fight, even if it means defying his sponsors in Washington. He has, for instance, publicly denounced "foreign interference in our affairs by great powers, friendly powers," and left no doubt that he was referring to U.S. statements urging him to recognize the election results. And just in case Washington didn't get the message, U.S. Ambassador Robert Yost found that he couldn't even get in to talk with Balaguer in the critical period immediately following May 17.

"I think you can say that the attitude of the U.S. government is different from the past," Gregory Wolfe, Dean of the School of International Service of American University, told *IN THESE TIMES* after returning from Santo Domingo last week as an official observer for the Liberal Democratic Conference of the U.S. Congress. "When was the last time an American ambassador was left cooling his heels waiting to see Balaguer?" added Wolfe.

*Continued on page 18.*



## NEWS ANALYSIS

# U.S. buys friends with jet plane sales

By A.J. Kfoury and Paul Saba

**T**HE U.S. ADMINISTRATION DEFENDED its jet fighter package deal to Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia on the grounds that it served the "legitimate defense needs" of these countries.

Congressional opponents of the package either argued that it endangered Israel's security, or objected to it on the more general grounds that it would generate tension in the region, destabilize the present balance of forces, or undercut American diplomatic efforts aimed at a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Debate in these terms, however, did nothing to reveal the underlying objectives of both the plane package itself and the wider U.S. arms policy of which it is a part: to promote the immediate interests of U.S. arms contractors and to advance the long-term interests of U.S. business in both the Mideast and North Africa.

## French and British competition.

In the past year U.S. contractors have begun to feel sharpening competition from the British and French within the Saudi and the Middle Eastern arms market. The Saudi regime has recently concluded a major aircraft and support system purchase, valued at nearly \$1 billion, with the British Aircraft Corporation. French sales to Saudi Arabia in 1977 were also valued at about \$1 billion, with prospects for growth in the present year. The Saudis threatened to buy Mirage jets from France if the U.S. sale was blocked.

In addition, both British and French companies have reached agreements with the Egyptian and Saudi regimes for future joint production of planes, helicopters and electronic gear within the framework of the Arab Military Industries Organization, formed and financed by Saudi Arabia and the Arab oil sheikhdoms to develop an indigenous Arab arms industry.

In the past year the worldwide decline of the dollar has inflated the price to Saudi Arabia of Western arms and other imports, while oil prices have been held down in part by the continuing world recession and a glut of oil on the world market. The U.S. has also been unable to promote a comprehensive settlement in the Mideast—including a settlement of the Palestinian question—on terms sought by the Saudi regime, which would involve substantial Israeli withdrawals from Arab land and the establishment of some kind of Palestinian "entity" physically linked to Jordan and politically subordinated to it.

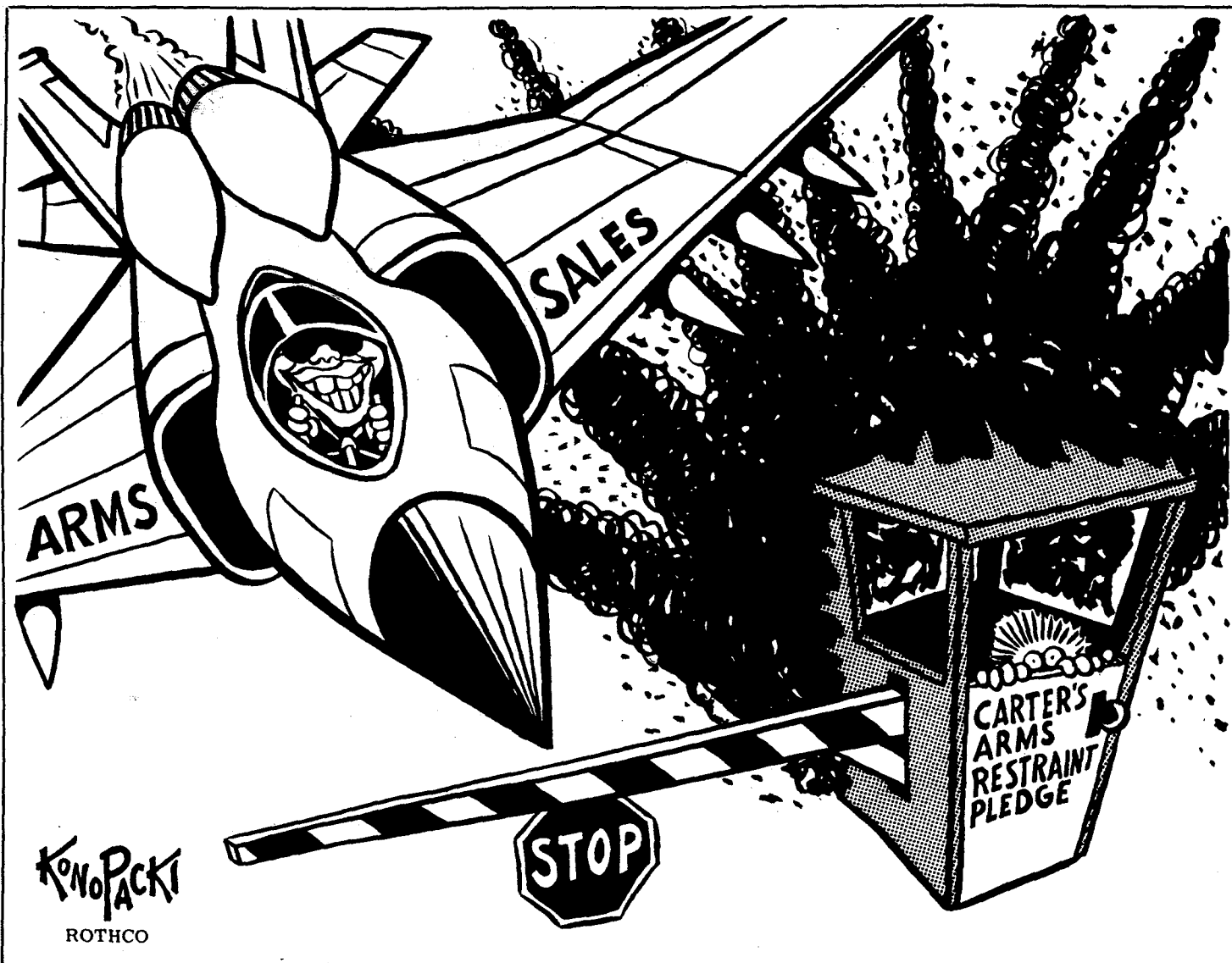
One of the major difficulties of U.S. foreign policy in the Mideast today is in continuing all-out support for Israel while consolidating ties with Arab regimes. American difficulties in resolving this contradiction, along with general economic considerations, have encouraged certain circles within the Saudi regime to argue for diversifying Saudi arms sources, and to question the Saudi coordination with Washington of its oil pricing and diplomatic efforts.

The Carter administration viewed the Saudi plane sale as a means to enlarge the Saudi market for U.S. arms contractors and to strengthen the arguments of those circles within the Saudi regime—led by Prince Fahd and Sheikh Yamani—that continue to favor a "special relationship" with the U.S.

## The "friendly regimes."

The jet package deal as a whole, however, also fits into wider U.S. arms policy that aims at strengthening a chain of regimes across North Africa and the Mideast.

In North Africa, U.S. military aid to Morocco has gone from \$30 million two years ago, to \$47 million last year, to a proposed \$100 million package this year of planes, helicopters and other equipment.



The U.S. wants to establish a pro-Western bloc in the Mideast and North Africa. To do this, it must convince the Israelis and the "moderate" Arab regimes that they have common interests. The jet plane sale was a first try.

Egypt will now receive for the first time U.S. combat jets. In part because of U.S. aid over the last three years, Egypt is able to maintain 12,000 troops in neighboring Sudan to bolster the military regime of General Numeiry, who recently received a delegation of U.S. advisors and technicians to discuss military aid to his country.

In the present fiscal year, Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia will acquire nearly three-quarters of all U.S. arms shipments to the Third World as a whole. In addition, Israel has begun to discuss with U.S. officials a ten-year \$15 billion request—known as "Matmon C" plan—for the most advanced armaments in the U.S. arsenal, including some items that are so sophisticated they have not yet been offered even to NATO countries.

Jordan, too, will get special consideration: more than one-third of all U.S. financial aid, under a separate budget category called the "Military Assistance Program," will go next year to King Hussein. Along with Egypt, Jordan will also receive \$2.5 million in U.S. aid for training police and internal security forces.

The Shah of Iran, the Begin government, the Saudi sheikhs, the Sadat regime, the junta in Sudan, and the monarchies of Morocco and the Jordan—these are the major links in a chain of what Cyrus Vance has called the "friendly" regimes of North Africa and the Mideast. Their friendliness has been proven by their willingness to repress and wage war against progressive nationalist and Soviet-backed forces both within and outside their borders.

## War against the left.

With financial backing from Saudi Arabia, Morocco today is waging a systematic war against the Polisario forces fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara, the mineral-rich former colony

of Spain, arbitrarily annexed by Morocco and Mauritania in the wake of Spanish withdrawal in 1975.

Egypt with Sudan, Iran and Saudi Arabia provided military and financial aid for the recent Somali invasion of Ethiopia as a means of preventing the progressive forces that had overthrown the Emperor Haile Selassie from consolidating their rule in that country.

In the mid-'70s, Iranian troops, supported by Jordan and Saudi Arabia, were the leading force in suppressing leftist guerillas struggling to overthrow the Sultan of Oman, on the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula.

The Jordanian regime killed tens of thousands of Palestinians in the civil war of 1970, in an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian Resistance; its military and security forces are being strengthened by the U.S. today to take over the role of Israeli troops in controlling the population of the West Bank in case of an eventual Israeli withdrawal.

And Israel, the world's largest recipient of U.S. arms per capita, continues to play the crucial role of blunting the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement, whose resilience has provided continuing inspiration to opposition forces throughout the Arab east.

## Dependence on foreign capital.

These "friendly" regimes of North Africa and the Mideast have also proven their eligibility for U.S. support by the pattern of their internal political and economic policies.

In the economic sphere, all are committed to a policy of close dependence on foreign capital, a condition that has led to growing economic polarization and mass unrest, and to the need, in varying degrees for social repression. The Saudi monarchy maintains a harsh control over its sparse

population by a combination of modern police technologies, supplied by the U.S. and Britain, and the reactionary use of the Islamic religion. The Moroccan, Jordanian, and Iranian regimes are among the most repressive in the world; each has built up, with U.S. aid, an internal security apparatus that has been and continues to be brutally used against left-wing elements in the trade unions, the universities, the press and other media.

Despite its claims of being a parliamentary democracy, the Sadat regime has quelled by force of arms worker uprisings in the Egyptian towns and cities, and has jailed thousands of its opponents and critics.

And besides the primacy of the political-military role played by Israel in the Mideast in stabilizing the area for world capital, under the Likud government the Israeli economy has been opened more widely than ever to U.S. and other foreign corporations, attracted not only by tax concessions but also by stringent fiscal and wage policies that are greatly increasing the burdens on the poorest strata of Israeli society.

The eagerness of the Carter administration to push through the Arab-Israeli jet package reflects this strategy of bringing together Israel with the "moderate" Arab regimes into a pro-U.S. bloc. But even if American policy is able to overcome the difficulties of this contradictory strategy—and the plane sale is a step in this direction—it remains to be seen how fully it can succeed in stabilizing a region still simmering with deep class and national conflicts.

A.J. Kfoury is from Beirut, Lebanon, and is a visiting professor of computer science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Paul Saba is a lecturer in Middle Eastern history at Boston College.



## U.S./CHILE

# More skeletons in Pinochet's closet

By Saul Landau

WASHINGTON

**G**ENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET, Chile's president, not only ordered the murders of Allende government officials Orlando Letelier and Bernardo Leighton and Gen. Carlos Prats; he not only led the bloodiest repression ever witnessed in Latin America; and he not only forced into prison and exile Chile's best and brightest. He also presided for almost four years over a hemisphere-wide terrorist ring that claimed responsibility for bombings, kidnappings, and murders, from Buenos Aires to Canada. More terrorism and murder were planned, and indeed a "hit list" existed with names of future victims.

The above charges will all be sustained as a result of information gleaned by investigators of the Letelier-Moffitt murders. The terrorist ring's origins date back to the CIA's semi-secret war against Castro and the Cuban Revolution. Groups of Cuban exiles originally recruited and trained for death missions in Cuba by the CIA were either dropped by the Agency or became disenchanted with U.S. policy "vacillations." For these groups, all of whose members gained experience in the handling and use of firearms, explosives, and the use of false identities, the Chilean coup d'état on Sept. 11, 1973, came as a godsend.

Even before the coup, various Cuban exile groups had offered their services to Chilean extremists, especially the neo-Nazi party *Patria y Libertad*, in their effort to wage dirty war against Chilean President Salvador Allende. After the coup, before Allende's body had grown cold, Pinochet dispatched to Miami his personal representative, Air Force Col. Eduardo Sepulveda, to formalize relations with certain Cuban exile terrorist groups.

## Chileans meet with Cuban exiles.

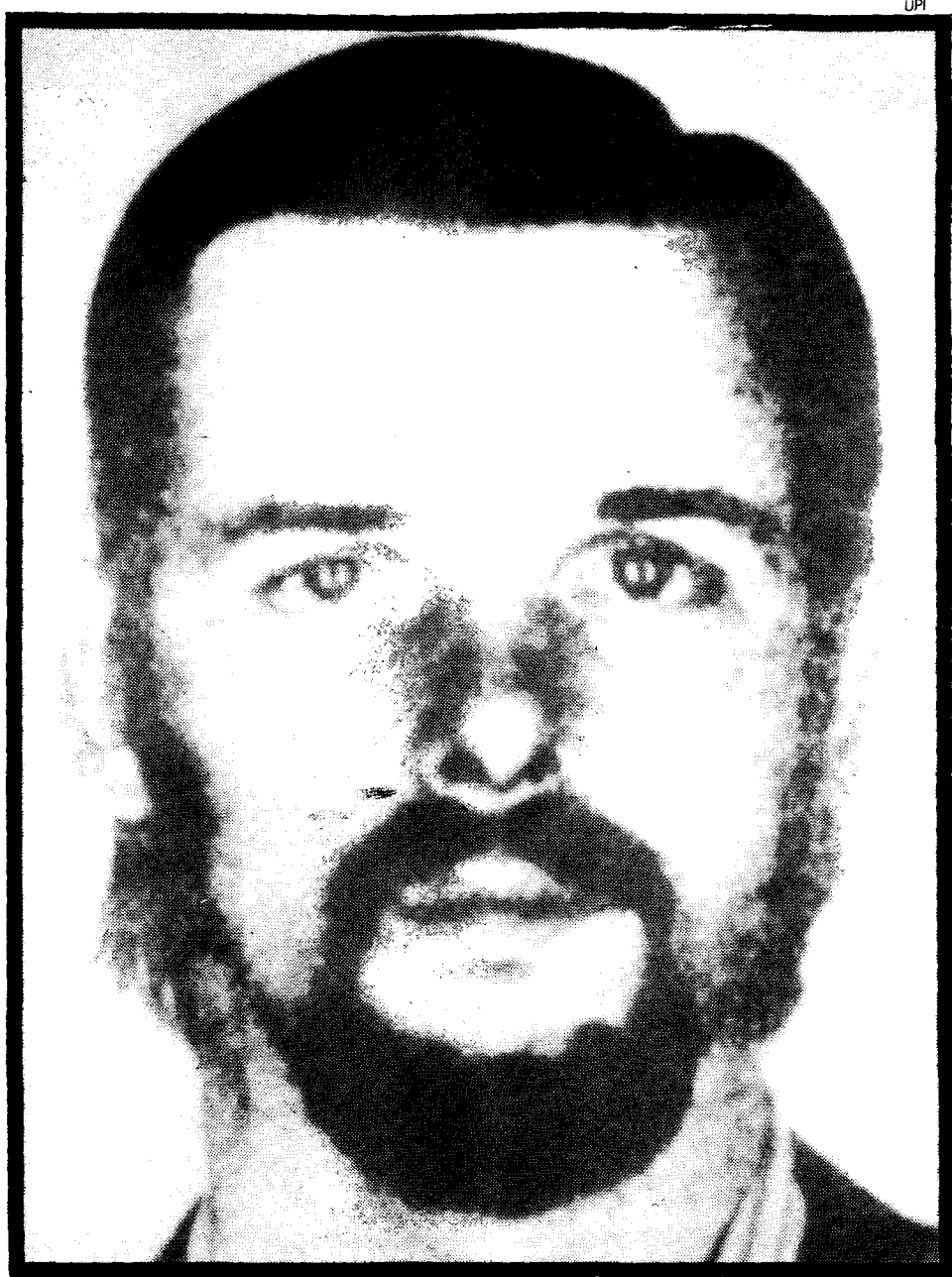
Exile sources confirm what Carlos Riquelme Collado wrote earlier in *Nephews of Uncle Sam* in September 1973 Sepulveda sat down with *Patria y Libertad* activist Pedro Ernesto Diaz and convinced Cuban exile terrorist Ramiro de la Fe in Miami to coordinate relations between the junta and the most militant anti-Castro activists.

Following this and other contacts junta leaders appeared regularly in public and in private with exile terrorists. Chilean officials Julio Duran and Jose Arrelo and Admiral Huerta toasted the Cuban groups in Miami and in Union City, New Jersey. Brigade 2506, the veterans of the Bay of Pigs, awarded Pinochet its "Freedom Medal" in 1975.

Behind the scenes, DINA agents and Cuban exiles planned and executed terrorist activities. DINA had invited such noted exile terrorists as Orlando Bosch and Guillermo Novo to spend long periods of time in Chile. Bosch stayed as a guest of the Chilean government for more than a year in 1974-75 planning with Gen. Manuel Contreras, head of DINA, the overall hemispheric campaign, coordinating activities between the secret police agencies of various countries, including Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic.

When Bosch and other Cuban exile terrorists travelled, they often did so on official Chilean passports, and their contacts in other countries included DINA agents using embassy and consular cover and secret police agents in the host country. For example, in Venezuela Bosch was seen at dinner with Orlando Garcia, the number two security man of DISIP, the Venezuelan security police, and the two stayed in the same hotel. Luis Posada, now jailed as a plotter in the Cuban airline sabotage of October 1976, along with Bosch, serves as a DISIP official for several years.

Convicted Cuban exile bomber Rolando Otero has told investigators about the many links between DINA and Cuban ex-



Michael Townley, who has been named a co-conspirator in the Orlando Letelier killing, was a key link between the Chilean DINA and the Cuban exile terrorists.

iles for the purposes of attacking Cuban installations throughout the hemisphere. Otero himself spent six months in Chile in 1976, and admitted that DINA entertained him and then trained him for certain operations.

In return for doing DINA assassinations, the Cubans received all necessary facilities, contacts, supplies and money to attack Cuban installations and personnel. Investigators in the Letelier-Moffitt case now believe that the Cuban Nation-

alist Movement (CNM) was the key organ for DINA murders abroad, and that they participated not only in the Letelier-Moffitt killings, but in the attacks on Leighton and Prats as well.

## U.S. presses case.

Thus far, the U.S. has arrested exiles Guillermo Novo, Ignacio Novo, and Alvin Ross and charged them with conspiracy to murder. Virgilio Paz Romero and Jose Dionisio Suarez are wanted for the

same crime. All are members of the CNM. A group called ZERO, thought by authorities to be an acronym for the CNM, claimed credit for the Leighton shooting and for participation in the Prats killing. Two CNM members were in Rome at the time Leighton was shot. Others were in Buenos Aires when Prats was bombed.

One of the key links or liaisons between the Cuban terrorists and DINA was Michael Townley, who is charged with the Letelier killing. Living in Miami after fleeing Chile on a murder charge, Townley developed deep ties with some of the Cuban killers. He maintained these ties when he returned to Chile after the coup and switched his employment from being a *Patria y Libertad* goon to a well paid DINA official. Townley has been seen with Cuban terrorists in Chile, in Miami and in New Jersey from 1973-76.

Another source that has linked Pinochet and DINA to Cuban exile terrorist attacks against Cuban government installations, Ricardo "Monkey" Morales Navarrete, has told U.S. authorities, according to one federal source, of how DINA helped Cuban exiles coordinate their bombings of Cuban embassies throughout the Western hemisphere.

Morales, a double or triple agent, according to an FBI source, was arrested in Miami in April 1978 on drug charges. He had worked as a DISIP official in Caracas up to this year.

Some government officials are asking privately whether the information gathered in the Letelier-Moffitt murders about other crimes will be made available to concerned parties. U.S.-Cuban relations have deteriorated, and some sources suspect that information on anti-Castro crimes might be withheld.

But the Department of Justice seems determined to press on in the Letelier-Moffitt case. Asst. U.S. Atty. Eugene Propper and FBI Special Agent Carter Cornick are now in Chile in preparation to indict three more Chilean officials. U.S. government sources confirm that ex-DINA chief General Manuel Contreras is one of the three. If he is named, said a State department official, Pinochet will be devastated. Whether or not the three can be extradited remains a sticky question for the future.

Saul Landau is the director of the Transnational Institute in Washington, D.C.

## SPAIN

# Two largest socialist parties merge, may soon become governing party

"The unity of the working classes in their historic task of transforming society is a constant problem, both theoretical and practical, of the workers' movement."

A "Declaration of Socialist Unity" was signed in Madrid on April 30, sealing the merger of Spain's two largest socialist parties, the People's Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Popular*) of Dr. Enrique Tierno Galvan, and the Spanish Socialist Workers' party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol*) led by Felipe Gonzalez.

The PSOE is the Spanish section of the Socialist International, and is Spain's historic socialist party. When it emerged last year from 40 years of clandestinity, it swept the elections to become the largest single party in Spain. The PSOE, which officially defines itself as a "class" and "Marxist" party, is the Socialist International's most radical European affiliate. That fact, combined with what one author has termed "the Spanish Communists' policy of relentless moderation," has led to a situation where the Socialists frequently stand to the left of the Communists in Spain today. Although the com-

bined forces of the Center-Right (and a voting system designed to lessen the influence of the left) currently prevent the PSOE from exercising governmental power, public opinion polls indicate that the PSOE may well govern Spain in the near future.

The People's Socialist party was formed in the late '60s when part of the PSOE's

## The smaller People's Socialists joined the Socialist Workers.

underground apparatus in Franco's Spain split to form the Socialist party of the Interior (*Partido Socialista del Interior*). In 1971, the PSI became the People's Socialist party. Led by Professor Enrique Tierno Galvan, the PSP followed a policy somewhat less anti-Communist than that of the PSOE. (For example, in the final years of the Franco regime, the PSP chose to affiliate with the Communist-organized opposition front, *Junta Democratica*, instead of joining the PSOE in the rival Co-

ordinacion Democratica.)

Nonetheless, the PSP was never able to extend its influence much beyond Spain's college campuses, and was thus unable to compete effectively with the PSOE, which has very deep roots in the Spanish working class.

The merged party will keep the PSOE name, since that designation has been used by Spain's Socialists since the movement was founded 99 years ago by Pablo Iglesias. PSP leader Tierno Galvan will become president of the united party, with Felipe Gonzalez remaining as general secretary.

The last two years have seen the proliferation of socialist parties in Spain, most of which represented only one of Spain's many regions ("the Socialist party of the Valencian Country," etc.). The PSP-PSOE merger spurred many of these smaller parties in recent weeks to enter into merger negotiations with their respective regional sections of the PSOE. Evidently, they don't want to be left out next year when Gonzalez and Galvan form King Carlos' first republican government.

—Kenrick G. Kissell





*Cook and his men (above) went ashore to kidnap a chief as hostage for return of the stolen boat. A sailor shot and killed a leading chief. In the ensuing battle, many sailors and Hawaiians were slain. Cook was stabbed and killed as he and his men were fleeing to their ships off shore.*

Calligraphy/Tom Greensfelder

# Another Frontier Another Tyranny

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

ONE OF MY GREAT UNCLES first shipped aboard, and later navigated, four-masted clipper ships around Cape Horn to China. It was an exhausting and dangerous way to earn a living; and in the end he fell victim to the terrors of the cold, the constant immersion in salt water, the lack of sleep, and the miserable food. He survived the last years of his life encased in a specially designed contraption that somehow maintained the circulation in his legs. He passed most of his time building an incredibly detailed model of his favorite clipper, and with great patience taught me how to handcraft such dreams.

He also enjoyed having a captive audience for his generally mordant aphorisms. One of his jaunty blasphemies seems appropriate to our contemporary predicament: "Americans have never learned how to distinguish between the two meanings of *good*." He meant, of course, the difference between *good* as the morally or aesthetically admirable, and *good* as no more than the pragmatically effective. I thought it was at least possible for those meanings to converge, and hence asked him what he meant. "Well, Billy, sometimes they do, but more often they don't and you have to make a choice. We had a few good voyages, but most of my beating around the Horn was bad: bad for the ship, bad for the crew, and bad for me—and probably bad for the Chinks. But the owners considered all of them good. They banked the profits of our deaths."

In that respect, at any rate, the world has not changed very much from the age of the clippers unto the present era of the supertankers. After many years of struggling to become as good a historian as he was a seaman, it seems clear to me that we Americans have a very strong propensity for mislaying the meaning and purpose of life even as we stuff our computer banks with every incidental fact about our existence.

Our favorite remark about ourselves, uttered constantly and with great pride, is that we are healthily pragmatic rather than sickly philosophical. I would suggest instead that we have pursued our basic philosophy with an almost fanatic

determination. We are very probably the most conservative people of recent history. We have concentrated our great intelligence and energy on the pragmatic task of implementing our original outlook—hence on denying and resisting change—no matter how far the world has turned. Our philosophy, view of the world, *Weltanschauung*—call it what you will—can be encapsulated in two words: *individualism* and the *frontier*. We have perpetually sought to honor and realize our individualism by penetrating ever more frontiers. As a result, we now entrust ever more of our lives to corporations and bureaucracies.

I have labored as a historian to reconstruct and understand that process, and to explore its consequences. But I have discovered, during the past three years, that I largely missed an important part of the story. I neglected the way in which we Americans, even as we were penetrating and conquering a continent, viewed the sea as a frontier in reserve—as a fall-forward position after we had gobbled up the land. A kind of holding tank for change. Thomas Jefferson, for example, concluded that the far edge of the Gulf

Stream was our "natural" boundary to the east. And he, along with many others, viewed our westward territorial expansion as much as a means to moving into Asia as the realization of the democratic dream.

I became fascinated by those and similar star sights during my nights in the archives, and my subsequent research ultimately carried me to the contemporary American conception of the sea as a frontier. One key figure in the recent phase of the process said it all in this remark about the ocean: "this vast, rich frontier stretching out on all sides." Reading that, one can only smile at the limited vision of Horace Greely saying no more than "Go West young man—go West." I want to review that progression and raise some questions about its implications.

## II

I was educated at the University of Wisconsin, as well as at the U.S. Naval Academy, in the traditional view that The Discovery of the Sea was a daring and majestic enterprise initiated by the Portuguese, rationalized by the British, and carried through to its magnificent climax by Cap-

tain Alfred Thayer Mahan and other Americans. But I changed my mind in the process of *doing* some history of the ocean cultures. (One *does* history, not at all incidentally, in the same way that one does biology or mathematics or oceanography—or even a corporation.) I became aware that the traditional Western European view of the discovery of the sea has about as much relationship to the truth as many of our other fantasies about space and technology.

The Arabs (whom even now we think of as dirty, raunchy desert rats) had better ships and sails than either the Phoenicians, Greeks or Romans. The Chinese (whom even now we view as slant-eyed creatures of night soil) had more sophisticated ships, sails, compasses, and center rudders than the Arabs. We still call their ships junks; but those junks made seven voyages (carrying as many as 37,000 people) to eastern Africa before the Portuguese managed to inch their way into the Indian Ocean. And it seems almost certain that the Chinese reached Australia and the western shores of Central and South America.

Off to the southeast-by-east of the Chinese live the Pacific peoples. They roamed that vast sea as if it was an interconnected network of lakes (much like Wisconsin or Minnesota) long centuries before James Cook sailed his way into every stamp collection in the world. That is a friendly joke, not a put-down. Cook is a central figure in the story precisely because he stood in *awe* of their ships and navigators, and of *their* sense of awe of the sea, and because he knew what was going to happen to all of those sea cultures. He did not entertain any romantic fantasies about them, but he did respect their wisdom about life and the ocean.

We will return to Cook, but first we must tip our computers to the Arabs, the Chinese, and the Pacific peoples for their prior discovery of the ocean space. It is even more revealing to examine the ways in which these cultures dealt with their technological successes. The Arabs held the sea in awe; accepted, honored, and worked with its power; and became neither colonial nor imperial traders. They hustled sharp bargains, to be sure, but they



did not subvert the existing cultures of the Indian Ocean.

The Chinese, sailing north and east, and south and west, observed and contemplated the new cultures they encountered and went home to break-up their great fleets. A remarkable story: people confident enough in their own culture to say NO to overseas empire. The Pacific Islanders accepted the sea as a way of life and honored their navigators—those who know the way—beyond their titular chieftains.

All that changes after we Western Europeans discovered the sea. The Portuguese embarked upon one of the bloodiest imperial campaigns known to history against the Arabs and everyone else from the Red Sea to Malacca. The Dutch then joined the orgy, followed as soon as possible by others. As for sailing west rather than east, the Spanish, Portuguese, English—and others—proved that they were perfectly non-discriminating in their carnage. They were true believers in the doctrine of equal rights for all non-Europeans to enjoy death, slavery, or other forms of subjugation.

It is customary to explain it all as a mania for God and Gold. Also convenient. But unsatisfactory. It is more helpful to return to Cook, and to our persistent fascination with the man. It is strange how we cannot leave him alone: more than a bit like Charlie Chaplin, or George Washington, or Thomas Jefferson, or Abraham Lincoln.

### III

When I was recently in Australia, I made several visits to Cook's childhood home. I was first intrigued by it having been removed, brick by brick, from its original site in England and then reconstructed near a pond in one of Melbourne's magnificent parks. I came to think of it as the colonial's revenge, and that set me to musing that the key to understanding Australia is to view it as the best and the worst of imperialism. But that is another essay, and here I want to explore the way that our involvement with Cook reveals our progressive loss of awe for the sea.

Cook was the son of a lower class farmer. You feel that in the home: almost more space for the animals than for the people. There is a visceral sense of caring in the architecture of that home, and Cook took that to sea. He led by example, and his concern for his men and ships is justifiably a legend. He persuaded his crews to eat sauerkraut to prevent scurvy, for example, by having them observe his officers ingest the stuff. He also honored his commitment to the acquisition of knowledge (today very arbitrarily and mistakenly known as science and technology), and concerned himself with its proper uses.

For all those reasons, we are perplexed—and more, *engaged*—by his death. Here is this remarkable man dying in a pointless confrontation on the beach with those who honor him as a god. I think that is why we put him on stamps and salute him in other ways. Once we admit the possibility, even the probability, that he died because he honored our primary values, then *our* fat is in *our* fire. For Cook understood that we western Europeans were destroying the sea even as we discovered it. He knew it in his soul, as well as in his bones and mind. His log is full of that knowing expressed in language as sophisticated as his set of sail.

That knowing generated a visceral tension within Cook that mirrored the same conflict within our culture. He respected the people he discovered, yet he was asserting a concept of life that demanded acceptance—and the acceptance meant death to the others. The final confrontation developed out of the theft by the Hawaiians of a boat from Cook's ship. He had come to understand, however, that stealing was a sincere form of flattery and respect. And his journals are full of his awe for the ships, seamanship, and character of the Pacific peoples. He had handled other such episodes with aplomb.

So we begin, finally to come down on it: Cook ultimately personified our Western European conception of discovery as penetration, conquest, and possession rather than awe. Let us imagine an alternate confrontation. The boat is stolen and Cook goes ashore alone and asks to

speak to the revered Hawaiian navigator, an equal he knows and with whom he has a warm personal relationship.

*Cook:* I am flattered by you wanting our little boat, so lost upon the sea as compared with your great canoes.

*Navigator:* We wish to honor and learn from you.

*Cook:* Thank you, Navigator. You do honor us. But we need to learn from you.

*Navigator:* Learn from *us*?!? That cannot be! You sail many seas further than we, and in larger ships with huge sails. You cannot learn from us.

*Cook:* But it is true. It takes many men to shape and set our sails. Even worse, they are difficult to control, and sometimes we fail. In those times we need good boats. I ask you to loan us one of your great canoes, and teach us how to use it, in return for our little boat. We need to learn from you.

*Navigator:* It is done. We will begin tomorrow.

*Cook:* Thank you, Navigator.

Cook returns to his mighty ship of much cloth and later sails home to glory and a warm bed. Along with a technological breakthrough that two centuries later became known as a catamaran.

### IV

Now there is the question: why did Cook, despite his remarkable character, equate success with possession of property? Cook was unquestionably a man of great humanity and awe in the face of the sea and other cultures. Yet he finally proved incapable of breaking free of our Western European equation that holds that discovery is defined by penetration, conquest, possession and exploitation: that knowing comes down to owning.

We Americans refined that crude equation into the sophisticated frontier thesis of progress, welfare and democracy. We did it very early and with considerable subtlety. The frontier became our way of life long before our revolution, and we formalized and institutionalized it in the Constitution. Yet the frontier as a way of life is inherently empire as a way of life. The logic is implacable: if we cannot have more then we cannot have progress, welfare, or democracy.

Just as there are intellectuals tucked away inside corporations as well as surviving in universities, so there are poets in history as well as in literature or oceanography. Frederick Jackson Turner was such a poet. He recognized how the frontier—perpetual expansion—had in truth underwritten our Western European definitions (and practices) of welfare, democracy and progress. But he also perceived that such expansion was in truth “a gate of escape” from reality.

Therein lies the key to the relationship between the sea, technology and space. If we view the sea as merely another space (a new frontier) to be penetrated, conquered, and possessed with technology, then we will escape from the reality of awe only to embrace our narcissist ego. We can survive only if we recognize and honor the necessity of awe.

Technology and space are means to realizing dreams. If we lose the awe, either for the ocean or for people, then we lose the dream. And, tattered, bloodied, and stuffed in the closet though it is, the dream is about all that is left of America.

If my great uncle were alive, he would remind me of supertankers stricken with technological diarrhea spilling death in the ocean, on the beaches, and into the lives of countless people. Then he would say: “Now, Billy, do you understand what I mean about Americans never having learned how to distinguish between the two meanings of good?”

All I could reply is that I still think they can converge and handcraft the dream. On the other hand, perhaps we simply do not give a damn for dreams. Maybe we prefer to bank the profits from the death of awe. If that is true, then I hope I die of natural causes before the account is balanced.

*William Appleman Williams is professor of history at Oregon State University, Corvallis. He is the author of The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, The Contours of American History, The Roots of the Modern American Empire, and Americans in a Changing World.*



Auckland Star

*We can survive only if we recognize and honor the necessity of awe. Technology and space are means to realizing dreams. If we lose the awe, either for the ocean or for people, then we lose the dream.*



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



ROTHCO  
The Sacramento Bee

"HERE'S MY GUARANTEE YOU RENTERS WILL BENEFIT FROM PROPOSITION 13."

## Jarvis-Gann smashes the state

While many on the left talk about "smashing the state," California right-wingers with considerable mass support are doing something about it. Not by barricades in the streets but by aiming ballots at the power of the purse. The intent of the Jarvis-Gann property tax limitation initiative to be submitted as Proposition 13 to California voters June 6 is to dismantle large sectors of the state apparatus by limiting the tax power and forcing cutbacks on government spending, services, and employment. (See story, page 3.)

It would be a mistake to view Proposition 13 as simply a "right-wing" issue. In addressing itself to lowering taxes and raising income, it involves a popular issue on which the right has adroitly cashed in.

For the left, the Jarvis initiative presents endless ironies, not the least of which involve seeing the right make political hay out of issues the left has long been raising but without anything like the right's boldness and current success.

The left has argued again and again the regressive nature of the property tax.

It has emphasized the inequalities, as between richer and poorer communities, resulting from substantial funding of essential services from that tax.

It has pointed to the fact that tenants (accounting for over half of California's population) in effect pay landlord's and utilities' property taxes through the rents and rates they pay, just as they pay other business taxes through prices.

The left has attacked private speculation and "development" schemes that

drive up land and real estate prices (hence property taxes) and squeeze out small farmers and homeowners.

The left has drawn attention to the tax exempt income accruing to banks and insurance companies holding municipal and "redevelopment" bonds, funded substantially by property taxes.

It has pointed to corporate aversion to reducing the property tax for fear of seeing bond values decline and taxes shifted to levies on the income of corporations and higher-income individuals.

The left has been first in raising all these issues, but now watches flat-footed as the right picks them up, runs away with popular support and scores big. But perhaps the supreme irony is that after years of hard work in building an anti-corporate coalition in the movement for Economic Democracy, the California left finds itself aligned with the corporate and liberal political establishments in an eleventh hour effort to defeat the Jarvis initiative.

The left, like most of the people, finds itself caught between the right, which promises lower taxes through cutting back on public services essential to working people, especially the poorest, and the corporate-liberals, who promise to maintain these services but only through rising taxes and eroding working class incomes.

The Jarvis initiative brings home the urgency of the left's formulating a distinctive program of its own that can combine the quest for greater democracy with effective measures for reducing taxes and

stabilizing or improving the real income of the majority.

Short of the commitment to building a popular movement for socialism—public enterprise and social control over the price and investment system—there can be no such distinctive left program.

The crushing burden of the property tax on people with low, moderate or fixed incomes comes not from the tax rate itself but from the rising values dictated by the workings of the private market, which raises the tax bill whatever the rate.

Maintaining and improving essential services, and the salaries and wages involved in delivering them, require public revenues. But as long as private interests own virtually all productive and profitable enterprise, the revenues must come from taxes. If the attempt is made to shift the tax burden to the corporations and the rich, they will either pass the taxes on in higher prices or take their capital elsewhere. The result must be a mix of rising prices, further income erosion, unemployment, and lower public revenues.

The left can and does match the right in having the courage of its convictions, but more than the right it must have the courage to face up to the implications of its convictions. As long as the left shrinks from explicit advocacy of and organizing around a socialist alternative addressed to such issues of immediate concern to the people like taxes and prices, it will, as the Jarvis initiative demonstrates, remain outflanked by the right and co-opted by corporate power.

## Ferency takes dilemma by the horns

The Michigan gubernatorial candidacy of Zoltan Ferency offers an example of the left facing the dilemma so sharply delineated in California and taking it by the horns instead of sitting on them. (See Inside Story, page 2). Though the California tax initiative is getting more attention, the Michigan contest may be of equal or greater significance for the nation's political future.

A former chair of the Michigan Democratic party, and third party (Human Rights) gubernatorial candidate in 1974, Ferency is running in the Democratic primary as a declared democratic socialist.

He is combining proposals on such issues as taxes, health care, education, the environment, women's rights, and jobs with an "emphasis and a new reliance on public enterprise to create jobs and economic equity." (From his campaign brochure)

In calling for shifting from the property tax to graduated income and capital gains taxes to fund education and other public services, Ferency is explicitly campaigning on the idea that to "rely on private corporate enterprise to save and create jobs in Michigan, we will necessarily be competing with states and nations with lower wage scales, fewer fringe benefits, lower taxes and unorganized work forces ... In that kind of contest under those rules, Michigan workers, employed or not, are bound to lose."

Ferency is advocating public enterprise, including a public bank to "stimulate and encourage new industries" in both the public and private sectors, as the way of guaranteeing "jobs that will be permanently located in Michigan."

In so doing, he is directly addressing people's realistic fears of capital flight and a reduced tax base incited by proposals for taxing the rich without an alternative plan for maintaining investment, employment, and public revenues. His campaign offers not just a protest against the glaring inequities of the capitalist economy but positive proposals for an alternative to it.

In effect, the Ferency campaign is based on the assumption that the American people are tired of being patronized and will respond to an appeal to their intelligence, maturity and good sense. It assumes that they will respect those who candidly acknowledge that if we are to put an end to inevitable—and unwanted—effects of the corporate system, we must be prepared to choose a new system or continue to accept the consequences. Ferency's campaign also assumes that Americans will not be frightened by a label from confronting such a choice.

On the contrary, his campaign literature invites the people of Michigan to elect the state's "first democratic-socialist governor." He gives them reason to do so with his specific programs tied candidly into affirming their implications for changing the system in general. As his campaign slogan goes, "Ferency, for a change." Win or lose, Ferency's candidacy is a change, in American politics and the politics of the American left. ■

For more information about the Ferency campaign, or to contribute to the campaign fund, address the Ferency Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 20, East Lansing, MI 48823.



# Letters

## It ain't Burma Shave

ENCLOSED IS MY RENEWAL and small doggerel.  
*Mother Jones* seduces me  
*The Guardian* makes me itch  
*Seven Days* is too late  
*The New Republic* is a moderate son of a bitch  
 But *In These Times* pitches to me  
 Right across home plate  
 And what it is ain't Burma Shave  
 What it is, is great

—Dr. Ron E. Roberts  
 Cedar Falls, Iowa

## Support and criticism

AS AN ISRAELI CITIZEN AND A veteran of Israel's last two (major) wars, I would like to express my support for the principles enunciated in your May 17 editorial (Defending Israel and Palestine), and to commend you for the high analytic quality and fair-mindedness of your coverage of the Middle East. While many of your articles have obviously irritated a number of armchair Zionists and other uncritical supporters of the Israeli government, I find most of them to be extremely illuminating and possessed of great empathy for both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. (This is particularly true, I might add, of the excellent pieces contributed by David Mandel.) Unfortunately, from time to time an unconscious and (I am sure) unintended slip on your part provides unnecessary ammunition for your critics. A case in point is the paragraph in your editorial that reads: "Having been abused, displaced, incarcerated, and killed at the hands of peoples and governments of Christian Europe, the Israelis in founding and securing their state have abused, displaced, incarcerated and killed Palestinian Arabs who did them no such harm."

The suggestion implied in that paragraph (remote and indirect as it might be) of a similarity between the destruction of European Jewry by the Nazis and the treatment of the Palestinian people by Israel, is not only unjust and unwarranted in the extreme, it also provides "evidence" for the anti-Israel and anti-Jewish "bias" of *ITT* and of the American left in general. Worst of all, rather than emphasizing the horrors suffered by the Palestinians, this suggestion serves to belittle the atrocities committed by the Nazis. While this, clearly, was not your intention, a socialist paper, I would think, should be particularly careful not to fall into such a trap.

—Yogv Peled  
 Los Angeles

## Goose yes, Gander no?

AS AN AMERICAN JEW LIVING IN A predominantly Christian country, I've always believed firmly in a secular state. And it has always been my understanding that the U.S. was built on the principle of separation of church and state.

How, then, can American Jews attack the PLC for holding up the ideal

of an eventual secular state in Israel? It is one thing to accept the Jewish state as a current necessity—the history of Israel requires that. But how can anyone who believes in democracy and in religious and ethnic freedom and equality be against the conversion of Israel into a democratic secular state once its existence has been accepted by the Arabs and its place in the Middle East been made secure?

—Manny Rosewein  
 St. Louis, Mo.

## Sugar-coated anti-Semitism

THIS IS IN ANSWER TO RECENT letters criticizing this newspaper's "anti-Israel bias." The state of Israel took over the land of another people, the Palestinian Arabs and forced them into a life as refugees or as second-class citizens. It also represents a dangerous trap for Jews. Forty years ago the U.S. denied entry to Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler's terror and the Zionists themselves supported this policy.

Zionism disarms Jews in the struggle against anti-Semitism and allies Jews with reactionary forces. This is glaringly reflected in the fact that the misleaders of the American Jewish community are today engaged in cheer-leading for Israel while ignoring all but the most blatant anti-Semitism here at home, and even collaborating with the virulently anti-Semitic "born again" Christians on the Israel issue.

I don't think it's any accident that the same country that 40 years ago condemned Jewish refugees to death by denying them entry, supports Israel today. Anti-Zionism can by no means be equated with anti-Semitism. Zionism itself can correctly be called a sugar-coated form of anti-Semitism.

—Karen Moscovitz  
 Indianapolis, Ind.

## Displeased

THERE WAS SOMETHING ASTOUNDING about your editorial "Keeping them down, on the farm." In the final paragraphs you discussed socialistic controls of input costs but never mentioned even *partial* socialization of agriculture itself!

Do you envision a socialist industrial economy with a petty capitalist agricultural economy? Lovely.

It is important that the family farm be defended for the reasons you stated, but we must also work towards a strong socialist component of food production. At present, it seems that mainly religious and "back to the land" groups are working in a framework of communal production. The question of how to take their experience and apply it in a broader political and economic way needs examination.

—Howard Hermsdorf  
 Denver, Colo.

## Pleased

I AM PLEASED BY YOUR COVERAGE of the problems with modern farming and the plight of family farmers. I am happy to see you giving this important area the attention it deserves.

I was particularly pleased and substantially in agreement with your editorial of May 10.

—Catherine Alexander  
 Madison, Wis.

## Is it all a conspiracy?

THINGS ARE FALLING INTO THE same old historical pattern. Young people seeking to rise in the world don't seem to realize that events of the present are repeat performances of the past, leading to an encore of war.

The results of various referendums are disturbing, as the repeal of the Gay Rights Amendment in St. Paul and Wichita. I am not gay, but the animosity against them could turn into a form of Nazism with the substitution of Gays for Jews as scapegoats. The TV movie *Holocaust*, without going into it too far, is to gain sympathy for Israel. Why not

sympathy for Palestinians as well?

And why the splurge of books on the Nazis and Hitler? Aren't they to keep us in a mental rut of war? Why not reprint earlier social reformers such as Edward Bellamy, Thorstein Veblen or Scott Nearing? In view of this, did the publications, comic imitations and even pastry named after Napoleon in the early part of this century prevent another Napoleon in the person of Kaiser Wilhelm and the First World War? Did the publications and feature articles following the Kaiser prevent another in the person of Adolf Hitler? Will these present books, movies and TV programs of the Nazis and Hitler prevent another, this time in the person of an American counterpart publicizing for "Human Rights," as did a former with "Lebensraum"?

The U.S. defeat in Indochina will be paid for by the people back home. Those doing it don't realize, or will not admit that we are a declining empire. As with the Spanish, and then with the British, so now with the U.S. Left thinking and former anti-war people should counter this with publications and meetings on a greater scale for a better society. Where are you?

—George O. Beger  
 Minneapolis, Minn.

## A sure winner

IN THESE DAYS OF LOTTERY IT is not too impossible to find a safe bet. But Mark Naison has become my salvation. I read his sports column faithfully and always put my money against his choice. My winning percentage is fantastic. Mark, please don't restrict yourself to basketball and baseball. Give a poor Canadian a break and make some hockey predictions. I don't know Naison's political analysis, but it would be reassuring if he maintained that socialism in North America was a long shot!

—Sam Robinson  
 North Bay, Ont.

## Meet me at the UN

MY ARTICLE IN THE MAY 24 *ITT* ON the UN Special Session on Disarmament and the demonstrations planned to coincide with it unfortunately omitted one of the major events. The Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring a "Sit-in for Survival" on Monday, June 12, at the U.S. Mission to the UN in New York City.

The action, which will include civil disobedience, is designed to focus attention on American responsibility and complicity in the arms race.

Those wishing to participate in the June 12 action will assemble at 10:00 am at Bryant Park at 41st St. and Sixth Ave. for the march to the Mission. Options will be available for those who do not wish to engage in civil disobedience.

I would urge all *ITT* readers to join me and hundreds of others at the U.S. Mission on that day. For more information contact the Sit-in for Survival, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012; phone (212) 475-1180.

—Patrick Lacerfield  
 New York City

## Back to Free Enterprise!

THE RED CENT COLLECTIVE'S report on the nation's economic ills was not worth one of them. ("President's plan full of holes, *ITT* May 17). When a group of socialist economists come out with a strategy to be followed in order to correct past economic errors, the gist is of course predictable—government restructuring the economy.

The same old jabs at free enterprise (e.g., "The tried and true methods of fiscal and monetary management no longer work") long ago became meaningless. How can the *laissez-faire* economy be expected to function properly when anti-capitalist thinking pervades Washington.

Deficit spending, record budgets, a proliferation of government programs can only lead down the path of economic disaster. In the face of all of this, the never tiring liberals condemn capitalism

for its lack of ability to deal with economic problems.

A soldier will find it difficult to defend himself from an enemy army without a weapon. By the same token, capitalistic policies will flounder when the very tools needed to accomplish various economic objectives are taken away.

Come on, liberals—unshackle capitalism and give it a fighting chance. Try it, you'll like it!

—J.W. Kirkpatrick  
 Kansas City, Mo.

## Defending Rose Baron

IN HER REVIEW OF KATHERINE Anne Porter's *The Never Ending Wrong* (*ITT*, Apr. 19), an account of peripheral participation in the Sacco-Vanzetti protest movement more than 50 years ago, Elizabeth Faragoh writes that she read the book "with interest and dismay." Porter's description of the atmosphere in the defense organization in Boston—"monastic discipline" and "cold, mindless compliance, irrational compliance with orders from 'higher up'" differs from Faragoh's recollection. But Faragoh's review is much too benign.

Porter's 20-odd-page article in the June 1977 *Atlantic Monthly* was somehow beefed up into a 63-page book of sheer spleen, an exercise in frenetic anti-Communism spiritually in the McCarthy era. According to Porter, the Communists in the protest movement were "hoping only for their [Sacco's and Vanzetti's] deaths as a political argument."

She singles out as her special target a woman Communist whom she calls Rosa Baron. There was indeed a Rose—not "Rosa"—Baron, whom I knew well and who cannot reply to this defamation because she is dead. Twice Porter has Baron saying: "Who wants them saved? What earthly good would they do us alive?"

By the test of logic these recollections do not fare well. Why would the Communists have helped organize—as Porter concedes they did—the protest demonstrations in Boston if they wanted them to fail? And why would Rose Baron have worked day and night to save Sacco and Vanzetti if she preferred them dead?

Beginning a few months after the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti, I worked for Rose Baron for about three years, doing part-time publicity for the New York district of the International Labor Defense, of which she was executive secretary. She was a gentle, shy, deeply dedicated woman, quite the opposite of the heartless harriidan depicted by Porter. I have no hesitation in saying that the quotation attributed to Rose Baron properly belongs to the fiction for which Katherine Anne Porter is chiefly distinguished.

—A.B. Magill  
 New York City

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Roberta Lynch

## SNF: Boon for disco music but bad news for women



The lines are still forming every weekend and it's still hard to go to a party without getting into an argument about it—so maybe it's not too late to add my two cents to the *Saturday Night Fever* fever.

On one level, I think it's a terrific movie. A simple plot, but it does have a plot. Some good characterizations. Great music. Electric dancing. Dramatic moments. Pathos. Happy ending. You don't get many movies like that these days.

And on another level, it's a good movie. It takes seriously the dreams and dilemmas of a young working class guy. It looks clearly and sympathetically at his life—the kind of life that seldom makes it into America's cultural big time.

In this respect, *SNF* is at its best in communicating the subtle and complex ways in which options are limited—not just through a lack of jobs or education or opportunities, but through narrowing our horizons and keeping us locked within our own particular world. There is a certain kind of satisfaction in being the local disco king.

Even when Tony does look for options there aren't many. That's why I disagree with the critics who complain that he ends up leaving his roots and becoming the kind of awkward transplant into middle class society that his girlfriend Stephanie represents. That's actually a pretty realistic resolution for a sharp guy who's clearly a leader in his own element. Especially since the film doesn't give us any guarantee he's going to make it. It might be that we'd rather see him organize a union at the paint store, but that certainly wouldn't be any more plausible.

But something disturbs me, even on this generally strong level of the movie. It's the question of what particular truth a filmmaker chooses to reveal. Take the Manero family. Why is it that film after

film can portray deep conflicts in middle class family life, while still showing the participants as multi-dimensional human beings. Yet as soon as a working class family appears on the screen stereotypes take over. Tony's brother Frank is at least given some complexity, but his parents

**You're not supposed to say that any more. Women are urged to see the complexities—a polite way of saying, "Aw, shut up."**

are cardboard figures, with little vitality or appeal.

I have no doubt that there may be working class families that are just this narrow. But there are also millions of others with considerable energy, love, humor, and savvy. Is it too much to expect that Hollywood attempt to reflect these qualities as well?

Maybe it is. And maybe we should see *SNF* as a step in the right direction and leave it at that. That's what a lot of people I know are saying. I can't agree, though. Because there's a final level on which this film is as bad as anything that I've seen lately: It is very sexist.

I know you're not supposed to say things like that any more. It is increasingly out of vogue to discuss the matter in such bald terms. These days women are urged to look at the complexity of things—which is sort of a polite way of saying, "aw shut up, enough already."

But I'll stand by what I said. I know it was sexist because I have this highly developed, sophisticated technique for spotting sexism. Fortunately, it's not centered in my brain which is sometimes a little slow to catch onto—or admit—things. It's my stomach. It starts out just as a little knot. I can get a knot from lots of

things—like reading statistics on battered women. But it can get worse. And in *Saturday Night Fever* it got worse. I actually started to feel something like a pain every time that Tony's sometime dance partner, Annette, came on the screen.

Now I've heard all the complicated ar-

guments about how Badham, the director, was portraying sexism in its most blatant forms in order to expose it or about how Tony reforms and shows that sexism is wrong when he agrees to be friends with Stephanie. But I don't buy them.

The basic attitude that pervades the movie is one of consistent contempt for women. And what disturbs me is not just that Badham chooses to portray men's attitudes so baldly, but that he chooses to portray women in such a way as to rationalize such treatment. Annette almost seems to be asking for it, as the saying goes. There are plenty of strong, even tough, women who frequent neighborhood discos, but none of them manage even to flit across the screen.

Even Stephanie, who is supposed to be more independent, is portrayed as slightly ludicrous in her attempts to be something that she's not. I've seen at least half a dozen reviews (all by men) that complain that the movie isn't convincing because how could such a dynamite character as Tony fall for someone as silly as this woman.

Tony is the film's hero. Everyone is encouraged to identify with him. And he basically shares this attitude of contempt. He may agree to be friends with Stephan-

ie, but it's only minutes before on the screen that he coldly tells a miserable Annette that she's now a cunt—after she has sex with his friends in desperation.

He doesn't take that back.

And since he never seems to sleep with Stephanie, we are left with the same philosophical pronouncement on women that he made early on in the film: they are either nice girls or cunts.

It's not much to take home with you. And that's what worries me—what people take home with them. I saw that movie in a theater of over 1,000 people, and I must have been one of about ten in the crowd over the age of 25. It would take a lot to convince me that those teenagers—already deeply entrenched in standard sexual patterns—saw that movie as anything but a reflection and affirmation of those patterns.

To say this doesn't deny the movie's power or positive aspects. But it does imply that in order really to be able to look at the complexity of things, we have to recognize that they can have contradictory aspects.

There is a disturbing tendency of late to portray feminists as narrow-minded moralists or cultural elitists. The movement has sometimes been guilty of failing to be sensitive to different life experiences or values—and this needs to change. But at the same time, women need to avoid the tendency to fall back into sweeping gut reactions under the rug in the name of tolerance. *Saturday Night Fever* may be a boon for disco music, a welcome depiction of working class life, and a fun evening for almost everyone; but it's still bad news for women.

*Roberta Lynch is a member of the National Committee of the New American Movement.*

## Child rearing biases dressed up as truth

Society's needs have always influenced child rearing practices. Though the anthropological literature abounds with examples of different ways of raising children, psychologists, pediatricians and popular writers manage to ignore this evidence and to cling tenaciously to a belief in "scientific objectivity." Our theories of parenting and child rearing remain unsubstantiated: biases often dressed up as mental health truths. A recent trend in the psychology literature disguises oppressive ideology with seductive calls for needed (but relatively minor) reforms.

A Harvard physician, for example, calls for more concern for the handling of mother and child around the delivery process. This increased sensitivity is said to maximize the "bonding process" between mother and child. Increasingly, and with an increased sense of urgency many "authorities" now stress the need for this closeness (i.e., biologic mother and child), if the child is to grow up mentally healthy:

"The attachment of a mother for her infant is a strong, specific affectional bond that causes the mother to be willing to draw interest from her own self onto the baby; to make the unusual sacrifices necessary for the care of her infant day in and day out, night after night; to protect, nurture, fondle, kiss, cuddle, gaze at, and comfort her infant; to recognize her own infant's cry and smell; to know its needs and signals; and vigorously to resist separation from her baby for any reason."

This belief, presented as a psychological truth, finds support when women's demands for equal opportunity and rewards, including day care for their children are increasingly difficult to meet.

Yet evidence for such beliefs is slight. There is equally persuasive evidence that most children "bond" to several adults, that their strongest attachment may not be to the person or persons who provide the most care and that several caretakers may

**With the women's movement now under attack, E.O. Wilson's *Sociobiology* argues the genetic bases of male dominance and women's place.**

be to the child's advantage.

The confluence of child rearing "truths" and current social needs is not new. Others have pointed out how Victorian repression at the turn of the century met the social and economic mobility requirements of the expanding bourgeoisie. In Freud's time the leading child-rearing theorist was a pediatrician named Schreber, whose book on child care went through more than 25 printings. Schreber recommended daily cold baths for infants beginning at age six months. He invented elaborate harnesses to prevent poor posture, which he saw as "expressions of weakness, dullness and cowardice." To quote from the "Dr. Spock" of the 1920s:

"...every forbidden desire—whether or not it is to the child's disadvantage...must [be] unflinchingly opposed by an unconditional refusal... (a stern word or threat must be checked.) This is the only way to make it easy for the child to attain the salutary and indispensable habit of subordination and control of his will."

After World War II, the work of British psychologist John Bowlby found favor with professionals and important

public figures. Bowlby believed that a child denied a warm continuous one-to-one relationship with his own mother was a high risk for later problems. In 1950 the World Health Organization went beyond Bowlby's statements and warned

that day nurseries have a serious and permanent deleterious effect on children (*World Health Organization Expert Committee on Mental Health*, 1951). This coincides in the U.S. with the need to return millions of soldiers to their jobs and many women to their homes, and with the closing of myriad day care centers (392 in California alone had been opened during the war to enable women to "man" the factories).

Criticism of the research behind these theories emerged during the 60s. Indeed, some of Bowlby's own work did not support his conclusions. New work indicated that as long as children had a warm and stimulating environment, they seemed not to suffer from having spent the first few years of life in institutions where there were many caretakers. These children appeared to be friendly to many different adults, including strangers. But this was cited as a problem!

These criticisms of psychology theorists emerged side by side with those raised by the women's movement of women's role in our society. But with the women's movement now under attack from many

quarters, a new theory of human behavior based on genetics (E.O. Wilson's *Sociobiology*), uses faulty logic and selective misreading of animal data to argue a biological basis for male dominance, and for the superiority of women in the traditional roles as mothers.

Less grandiose theorists have returned to the arena of infant studies, and on first reading appear to have sensibilities sympathetic to the demands of the women's movement. They argue that medical technology in the form of the myriad of instruments (prenatal electroencephalograms, fetal heart monitors), and other treatment (routine episiotomy, induced labor, restricting relatives from the delivery room, anesthesia, cold environments, mother/child separation, scheduled feeding, etc.) which are found in most hospitals, add little to infant survival rates when compared with those achieved by midwives. But the divergence of interest arises when these authors' reasons for changing these procedures becomes clear. These reforms, they argue, are necessary to facilitate the necessary and specific process of bonding between mother and child.

The message is clear: get the professional out of the delivery room and, as some argue, out of the family. But get Mom back in, "day in and day out" at least for the first three to four years (the critical period, according to one leading theorist). It is sadly ironic that raised consciousness against an at times oppressively scientific medicine is now being used to undermine the goals of the women's movement.

*Herbert A. Schreier, M.D., is a physician at Oakland (Calif.) Children's Hospital.*



# PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

## Does socialism fit in the market?

The following is a response to Leland Stauber's three-part series of Perspectives, "For a Socialism That Works" (ITT, May 3, 10 and 17). We invite others to contribute to the discussion. Stauber's articles are available upon request for \$1.50.

By John H. Brown

Leland Stauber's series of articles has proved provocative, but whether it really offers socialism is debatable. Few, if any, American socialists are enamored with the bureaucratic, centralist model of the Soviet Union and Communist bloc countries. A form of market socialism appears much more appealing and is certainly less abhorrent to American sensibilities. Nonetheless, Stauber's proposals are severely deficient in a number of respects.

•First, his proposal totally ignores the problem of alienation. The public controls exercised in his "market socialist" sector are so indirect that they are almost meaningless. No mechanism is described



for meaningful inputs by workers into the work process that shapes their lives. The workers remain alienated from the process and product of their labor.

As a production worker in a rubber factory for the past five years, I find the socialist analysis of alienation one of the most powerful and persuasive arguments for socialism. What is more, alienation is undoubtedly a major factor in such social problems as alcoholism and drug abuse. A "socialism" that does not address the problem of alienation will not gain my support.

•Second, a related problem is the absence of any discussion of the role of unions in Stauber's market socialism. If the socialized corporations are still profit-seeking and maximizing entities, though publicly owned, they will beyond all doubt resort to much time-tested profit maximizing techniques as speed-ups, cutting corners on accident prevention, and ignoring hazardous chemicals in the workplace. If the socialized corporations are publicly owned, will workers be denied the right to strike as public employees (and Soviet workers) are now? Unions as they exist now are guilty of numerous sins of omission and commission. Nonetheless, they are a voice for democratic control in the workplace. Can a socialist society do without them?

•Third, is the question of the actual nature of current oligopolistic corporations. Although conventional economic theory proclaims profit maximizing firms merely obey the "signals" of the market, there is significant evidence that oligopolistic firms more frequently originate and reinforce "signals" in the market through advertising. A market socialism that does not deal with such oligopolistic distortions will surely founder. Also, the choice of manufacturing technologies in oligopolistic industries is suspect. Capital intensive technologies may be chosen by such firms to maintain control over the pro-

cesses of production. Machines will not talk back or go on strike, people will.

•Fourth, Stauber's underlying assumption that profit maximization does indeed produce a social optimum is open to question. Academic economists can produce a logical proof of this assumption only by adopting severely restrictive assumptions. One of these, the absence of externalities, that there exist no costs or benefits that the producer does not receive, is certainly false. A firm that pollutes, produces unsafe products, or closes a large plant, thereby destroying a community, is thrusting the true costs of production on society at large, even if it is itself low cost and profit maximizing.

•Fifth, a less damaging critique of Stauber's approach is that he presents no plan for the transition from market capitalism to market socialism. In this area American socialists might do well to follow the example of the Swedish Social Democrats' Meidner plan (ITT, May 10), which is more satisfactory both in envisioning a practical transition from one system to the other and in maintaining democratic input and control of the market socialist economy.

Leland Stauber's arguments are not without their merits. I certainly would not criticize his descriptions of the other three sectors of his socialist economy. Small privately owned firms and cooperative enterprises would certainly have a place in a democratic socialist economy. Similarly, natural monopolies should be publicly owned. I offer these criticisms not to disparage his thoughtful efforts, but in hopes of initiating a fruitful discussion to produce a concrete image of democratic socialism that will be appealing to the vast majority of Americans. Let's hear it comrades!

John H. Brown is a rubber worker, union steward, graduate student in economics at the University of Akron and a member of DSOC.

## A high level apostate from pluralist consensus

By Richard L. Sklar

**POLITICS AND MARKETS: The World's Political-Economic Systems**  
By Charles E. Lindblom  
Basic Books, New York, \$15.00

Some 25 years ago, Charles E. Lindblom, now Sterling Professor of Economics and Political Science at Yale University, collaborated with political scientist Robert A. Dahl to formulate the concept of "polyarchy." Here, at last, was a rough and realistic approximation to the virtually unattainable ideals of pluralist and liberal democracy. The very word, "polyarchy," is redolent with reassurance to reasonable people who yearn for freedom with security in a precarious world. Who would have thought that Lindblom would one day discover that polyarchy is, after all, a poor refuge for democrats?

The trouble with polyarchy, according to Lindblom, is that it does not apply to an entire field of political activity in capitalist industrial societies, namely the market system. Most theorists of modern liberal democracy scrupulously separate the "political" sphere of public authority from the "private" sphere of economic activity as an article of ideological faith. Lindblom is an exception. His theory politicizes the market; he refers to the business executive as a "public official in the market system."

As he says, we do rely upon businessmen to make and implement major decisions that are, in effect, public policies. Business decisions control the location of industry, the development of technologies, and the allocation of labor among productive activities. The business executives who perform these functions exact a high price in corporate autonomy and personal income.

Market system polyarchies, then, are controlled by two hierarchies, "reminiscent of the medieval dualism between church and state." Within the market system, big business is not subject to polyarchal control. Business leaders also compete within the arena of polyarchal politics, where they enjoy a "triple advan-

tage"—in funds, organization, and access to government.

Why do the citizens of market system polyarchies put up with a system of power that is so plainly undemocratic and unfair? Lindblom suggests three reasons: (1) People everywhere are inclined to support existing orders and defer to the opinions of established authorities. (2) Citizens of the liberal polyarchies truly value the liberties that they enjoy. (3) Political docility is produced by constant indoctrination in behalf of the dominant class and corporate order.

Readers of this newspaper may find merit in yet another explanation that Lindblom does not entertain. Many people associate the alternatives to market system polyarchy with authoritarian government. How many intelligent, self-respecting, democratically inclined people would choose to live in an authoritarian socialist country in preference to one that is liberal and capitalist? Perhaps a vision of socialist democracy, untainted by authoritarian ideas and relationships, would be attractive to the citizens of liberal states.

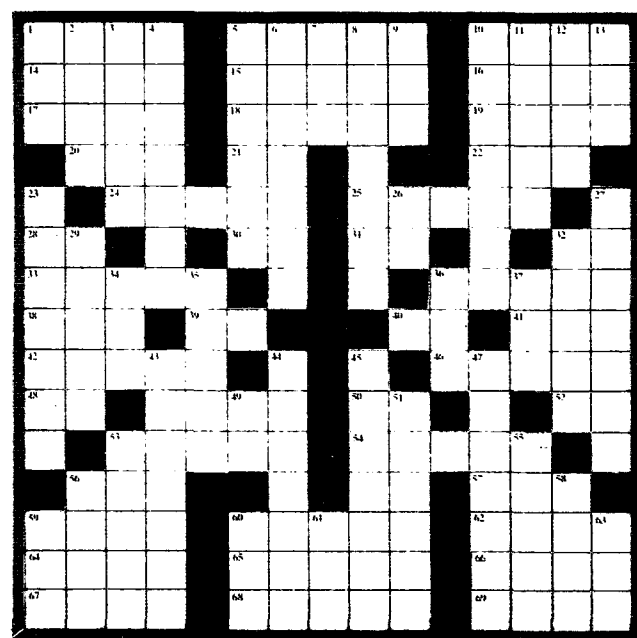
Lindblom's comparative analysis of authoritarian socialist (communist) theory and practice is perceptive. He portrays communism as a humanitarian and rationalist creed, predicated upon the notion that party leaders and other chosen elite elements *should* be trusted to hold "correct" opinions about controversial issues. He is intrigued by Yugoslavia's experiment with worker control of industry and "market socialism" as a "new course" of relevance to all societies. Yet he fears the spread of egalitarian ideas in the liberal polyarchies and warns that their distinctive institutions have been exposed to demagogic onslaughts by the decline of class indoctrination. At the same time, he is deeply disturbed by the rise of corporate power as a barrier, more formidable than class, to the progress of liberal democracy.

In brief, Lindblom is opposed to both corporatism and socialism. He searches desperately for an alternative, but without success.

Richard L. Sklar is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles.

## An American Tragedy

### CROSSWORD



#### Across:

- 1 Fever
- 5 Shirt
- 10 Russian ruler
- 14 The first non-Marxist
- 15 Inhabited ice house
- 16 Mounties
- 17 Below a nose (two words)
- 18 ho!
- 19 Ballistic missile, intermediate range
- 20 Make bigger, abbr.
- 21 Greeting
- 22 After the crab
- 24 Rose-colored dye
- 25 room
- 28 Sun God
- 30 Province of southeastern Canada, abbr.
- 31 Sodium
- 32 Cerium
- 33 Opposite of tranquil
- 36 Business
- 38 With a "U," with an "n," with an
- 39 Carter country
- 40 it
- 41 Fit of melancholy
- 42 Croation
- 46 More than one lion

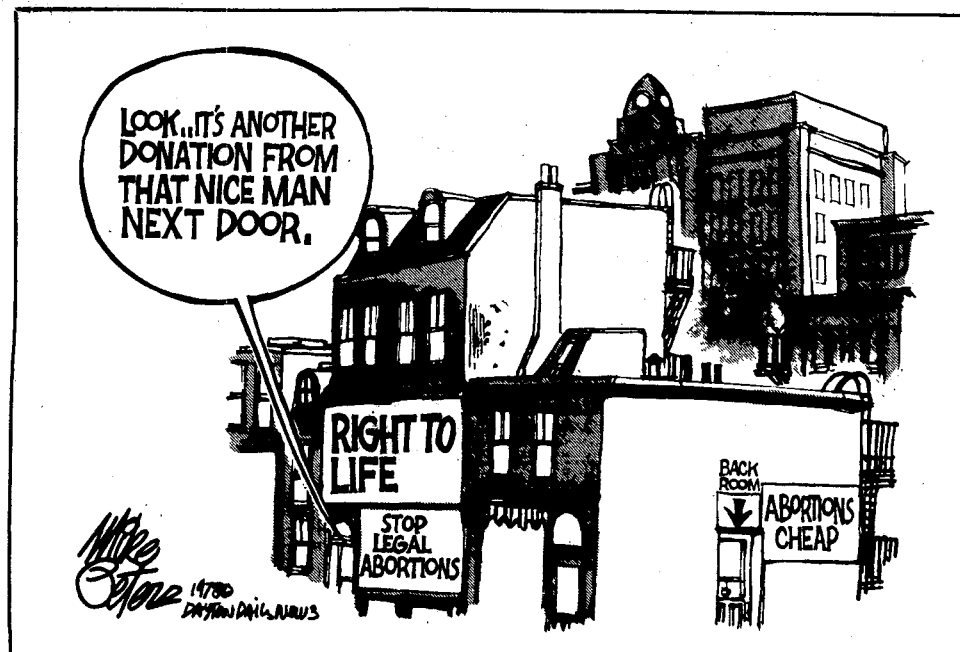
- 48 Suffix: one that does
- 49 man, \_\_\_\_\_
- 50 you \_\_\_\_\_?
- 52 Same as 48 Across
- 53 the ladder of success
- 54 Second of 10 Down
- 56 and order
- 57 Room for experimentation
- 59 Coffee
- 60 Wonderful
- 62 of man
- 64 Moslem prince
- 65 The \_\_\_\_\_ and Revolution
- 66 you're breaking my heart!
- 67 Foot work
- 68 Provide food
- 69 Greek story

#### Down:

- 1 Medical organization
- 2 Strong wind
- 3 Contains urea
- 4 What bosses can't help doing
- 5 Inside
- 6 Our Will
- 7 Sick
- 8 Enough money
- 9 Plaything

- 10 \_\_\_\_\_ of Desire
- 11 \_\_\_\_\_ up your courage
- 12 Greek pulpit
- 13 Revolutionary frequency
- 23 Theodore \_\_\_\_\_
- 26 Smog city, abbr.
- 27 Finders \_\_\_\_\_
- 29 Unpleasant euphemism
- 32 His pursuit of success was his ruin
- 34 County in southwestern Scotland
- 35 \_\_\_\_\_ trip
- 36 \_\_\_\_\_ a plea
- 37 Titan's home
- 43 One of the last novels of 23 Down
- 44 Victim of 32 Down
- 45 Salt of potassium or sodium
- 47 Literary style of 32 Down
- 49 Bigger than Ford
- 51 \_\_\_\_\_ Carrie
- 53 Trivial objection
- 55 Unpleasant
- 56 Buddhist priest
- 58 Ink spot
- 59 Talk (slang)
- 60 General Staff Corps, abbr.
- 61 \_\_\_\_\_ first
- 63 Ephesians, abbr.





## Right-to-Lifers

Continued from page 5.

so federal money could be used for abortions only under very limited conditions.

They will seek a similar amendment this year, and they are trying to amend a new pregnancy disability measure to exclude from coverage women who choose to have abortions.

Right-to-life groups at the state level have convinced many legislatures and government administrators to restrict the use of state funds for Medicaid abortions.

In June 1977 the Supreme Court confirmed that states were not obligated to spend public funds on abortions. Although it did not modify its 1973 position that abortion was a private matter between a woman and her doctor and thus protected by the constitutional right to privacy, the ruling shocked many advocates. They see in the new court decision and in the actions taken by Congress and state legislatures an ominous swing back to the era when most abortions were performed illegally.

They admit they were caught off-guard by the breadth and intensity of the anti-abortion campaign. "Most of our people became complacent after the 1973 deci-

sion," says Karen Mulhauser of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL).

Mulhauser believes the anti-abortion forces have been so successful because their campaign has been aided and financed by the hierarchy of the Catholic church, giving it networks in almost every community in the country.

Judie Brown of National Right to Life denies that her group receives any money from the church. "If we were getting church contributions, our members wouldn't have to spend so much time raising money through bake sales and garage sales," she says.

However, Michael Taylor of the Pro-Life Offices of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops acknowledged that the church helped to establish the National Right to Life Committee in 1973, but then quickly withdrew after it was set up.

Abortion advocates still maintain that much of the money that supports state right-to-life groups is raised in close conjunction with the church and that state groups contribute to the national committee.

Since the 1977 Supreme Court ruling

that states need not pay for Medicaid abortions, pro-choice groups have noted a renewed interest in their cause. In New York recently a well-organized abortion rights lobby was able to turn back anti-abortion legislation despite a strong right-to-life effort. At the same time anti-abortion measures have been defeated in Virginia and Maryland.

More is sure to be heard—both pro and con—on the abortion issue during the fall election campaigns, especially in California and Colorado where statewide anti-abortion initiatives are expected to be on the ballot.

(© 1978 Pacific News Service)

Art Goldberg is a Bay Area free-lance writer.

## Dominican Republic

Continued from page 9.

As this issue of IN THESE TIMES went to press, Yost had still not met with Balaguer. On the other hand, the U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo has been in constant touch with the PRD leadership and "other civilian and military elements of the Dominican People trying to produce an agreement," according to an embassy spokesperson.

The U.S. government still has considerable leverage on forces in the Dominican political picture who may be tempted to block the PRD electoral victory. At May 23 hearings of the House International Relations committee, subcommittee on International Organization, chaired by Rep. Donald M. Fraser, witnesses pointed out that the Dominican armed forces receives a significant amount of U.S. aid (the second largest recipient in Latin America), "aid that could be suspended until a satisfactory electoral sol-

ution could be reached." According to a source close to the committee, another possibility raised in the hearings was the recall of the U.S. ambassador.

Whatever the outcome of the immediate crisis—and numerous options are still open—the actions of the U.S. government will be watched closely. The still unanswered question is whether or not Carter will be able to bring the federal bureaucracy to heel behind his stated support for a democratic transition to PRD rule. In order to do this, he must take on still powerful sectors in the Pentagon, CIA, State department and elsewhere who have made clear their willingness to opt for the imposition of military regimes throughout Latin America as the solution to the deeply rooted social and economic problems of those countries.

Alan Howard is a labor journalist in New York City. His articles on Latin America have appeared in the New York Times Magazine, The Nation and other publications. Special thanks to the Dominican Republic Task Force, P.O. Box 641, Cathedral Station, New York 10025 for help in preparing this article.

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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## PROFILE

# Bessie Sayet remains a survivor

By Larry Bush

**Y**OU KNOW, HISTORY IS NOT made as fast as we make coffee," said my grandmother. "It takes years and years and years. They say that a Jewish man came to God and said, 'God, to you a hundred years is one minute, and a million dollars is one penny. So please, God, give me a penny.'

"And God said, 'Wait a minute.'"

"So," I replied after laughing, "should we have some coffee while we wait?"

"Why not? I finished the last cup over an hour ago."

Of course, she was on her feet and shuffling towards the kitchen before I—with my stomach full of her soup 'n' *knaidlach*—could even think to rise. Whew, I thought, for someone who can joke about the plodding ways of history, she's sure in a rush!

It's worth following Bessie Sayet around, to the kitchen or to the barricades, however breathless she leaves you, if you want to learn about making history (or about making "European coffee": 3:1 parts coffee to chickory, with hot milk).

She might even serve you a piece of her birthday cake, which shone with 85 plus one-to-grow-on candles May 25th. Watch those flames closely: they contain the light and shadows, the ashes and embers of nearly a century of class conflict.

You might first see images of the old country, Czarist Russia, and a place so cold that the flames flicker at the memory: Siberia. She was exiled there in 1906, as were many Russian revolutionaries. But there was a difference: Bessie was only 12 years old. (Her older brothers were activists, and when the police raided their house, uncovering their printing press and illegal literature, *she* was held responsible and arrested in their absence.)

"The snow was taller than me in Siberia," she'll tell you. "They used to make tunnels to go through. The food was very rotten, and there were no beds, just a blanket on the dirty floor where you lay. But for me, it wasn't too bad. I had only to sleep in the barracks. During the day I went to a parochial school, and I got myself a priest's daughter for a friend, so I was doing o.k."

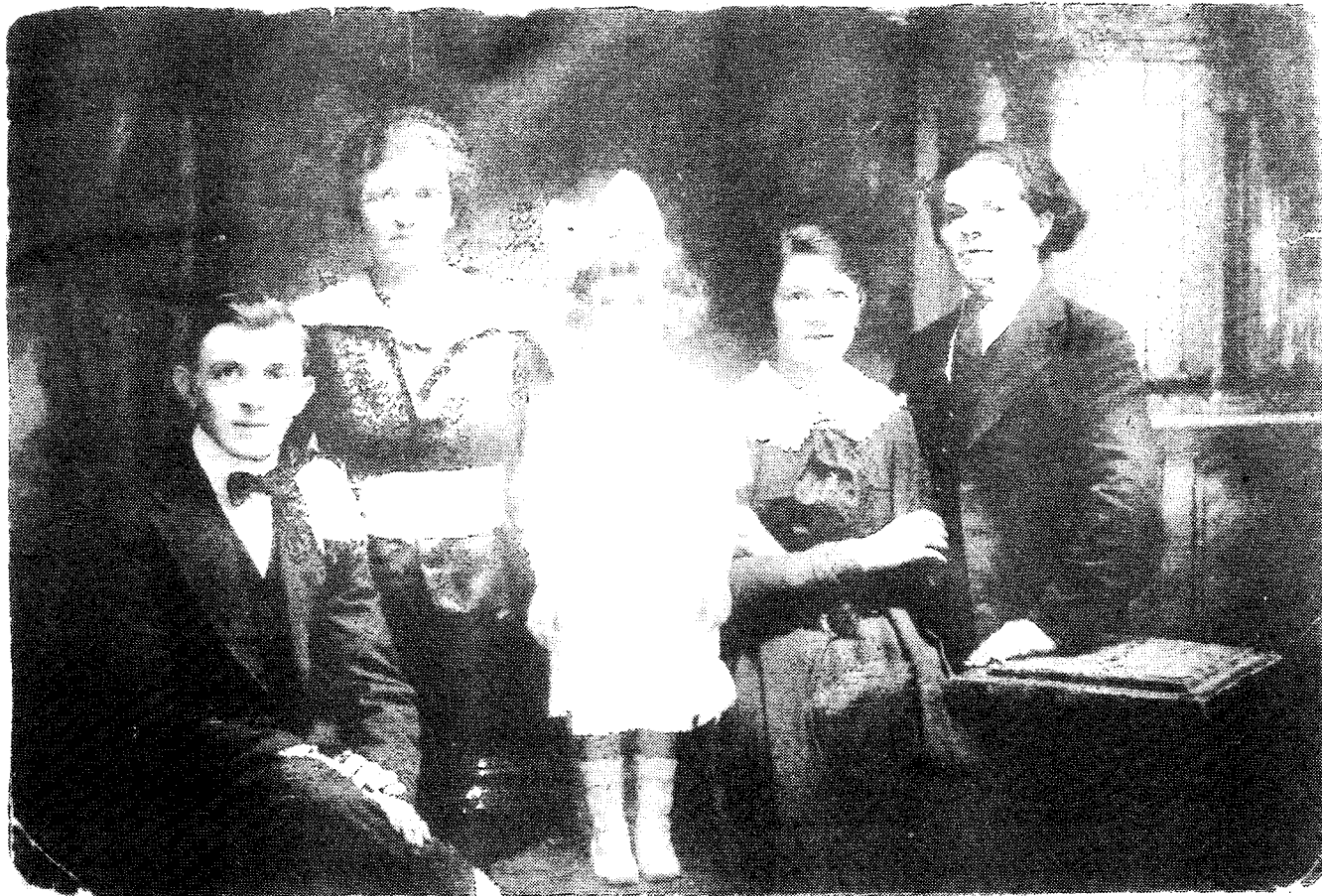
"The biggest revolutionaries, I met them in Siberia. For instance, Breshka Beshkovskaia—she was called 'the grandmother of the Russian revolution.' She was from one of the oldest families of the cheese, the nobility—and in and out of prison! Then one fellow there, Alexander—I never knew his second name—we sneaked him out in a barrel of sauerkraut. We were so far from civilization, but not from the movement!

"I learned so much from these people that I became proud of myself that I was in Siberia, although I hadn't done anything to deserve it. But I was proud to be with men and women who were really ready to give their lives so that you and I should be able to live."

### Always with incorrigibles.

It seems that Bessie always hung around with such incorrigibles, long after she had escaped from Siberia (with help from the priest's daughter) and come to America.

Look again into the candle flames. You might see the I.W.W. "Rebel Girl," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn ("My next door neighbor in the Bronx. We met at Patterson, New Jersey, during the silk ribbon strike (1912) and became very close."); or the Jewish sweatshop poet, Morris Rosenfeld ("We started organizing a union. And we lost. So he says, 'Well, do you still want to fight, so let's start a new one!' And this is



Bessie Sayet has lived a long and eventful life. Photo near logo shows Bessie at 84, photo above, at 22. She's the young woman in the glasses next to the fiery looking man.

## Bessie Sayet has always hung out with incorrigibles, whether in exile in Siberia or organizing tenants today.

the way I feel to this very minute."); or even Leon Trotsky, with whom she traveled, along with many others, on a boat back to Russia in 1917 to fight against Kerensky's provisional government. ("Trotsky was a very handsome man, and a brilliant man, but an egotist. When he talked to us, he didn't get up—he sat while you had to stand around like dummies and listen. And you couldn't ask questions that he didn't like.")

And who's this man in the toothache bandage?

"I was a nurse in the Red Army, and once I got sent with two soldiers to the train station. We were supposed to meet someone. It was a little bit of a guy with a shawl, like for a toothache, wrapped around his head. So we get into the sled, and as we drive, one soldier, a peasant, he says, 'Who is this Lenin? I would give my right arm to see him.' And this fellow with the shawl says, 'Your country needs your right arm.' Then we drive up into the mountains, where the poorest people lived in caves, and we went in there, and suddenly they all rush towards him hollering, 'Lenin! Comrade Lenin!' I nearly dropped dead!

"He was very sick, and I took care of him for three days until the regular nurse came. Then he signed my card to the Russian Communist party—that was like the Pope should give it to a Catholic!

"I would like to talk to Lenin *now* for a few days. I know more now than I did then."

And how. Bessie survived Depression poverty—as the single mother of two children following the death of her second husband. She endured the McCarthy period—during which the FBI hounded her from one nursing job to another, nearly depriving her of a livelihood. She suffered from high blood pressure, phlebitis, headaches, a cracked rib, a black out—all within the past five years.

After all of this Bessie Sayet has a whole lot to say. Even more, she has a whole lot to do. During the same five years of ill

health, she has organized a tenant organization in the gigantic New York apartment development, Rochdale Village, where she lives; fought for and won a city-funded lunch program for more than 150 old people in her community; collected scores of petitions and dollars for important causes. And she has given health care, friendship and impetus to many poor and lonely aging men and women, showing them not only leadership and an example to follow, but actual and tireless attention and devotion.

"I tell you," she has said more than once, "if I could have made as much trouble when I was young as I do now, we could have a revolution already!"

### Images.

But today we're taking it easy. Today we'll stay home and celebrate. We have our cake and we're going to eat it, and give blessings to 85 plus one-to-grow-on candles, with all the images they contain.

**The light:** "I must have been born that way, with that feeling that I was with the downtrodden, the people that suffer. And I'm against those that punish us because they want more money. Sooner or later you have to start thinking about it. It's so easy for you to become a revolutionary if you think."

**The shadows:** "I don't know. We've tried so many times. You think you've got them on your side, and then another McCarthy comes out, another devil comes out. I'll give you a f'rinstance. The Nazi Bund. I'll never forget them as long as I live. When they had their first meeting in Madison Square Garden, I put my kids to sleep and I went. When I got there I saw black—they were all the Nazis, with the swastikas and uniforms, going around with nightsticks just looking for who they can beat up. And then they start speaking, so we start yelling. So they start beating. Me, as little as I am, and another woman, we picked up a chair and hit a Nazi right over his head. He fell over the balcony railing..."

**The ashes:** "When you build something there's destruction in it. You have to tear down an old house to build a new one. It's painful when you tear it down, but you have to do it, so you do it."

"But sometimes I sit at home, by myself, and I think, how did I go through with it all? I saw so many young people, friends of mine—even my first husband, Yasha, he was killed in the revolution—they talk to you and then they're laying dead. And you can't do nothing. You step over them and go help those that are still alive."

**And the embers:** "You have to be realistic if you want to get old. You have to know that to a certain age you'll come and then you'll start decaying whether you like it or not. And if you look straight at it, you know that this is the way of life and this is the way it's gonna be—you can't make a revolution against old age. Then you accept it. And then you're not old, you're young, because your time is now. I'm not afraid."

"But it's for the young generation to make the change in the United States now. We were the beginners. We came here. We lived in slavery and tried to free ourselves. We made unions. We fought against fascism, against racism and discrimination. We had revolutions, quietly, and we did a lot. Now it's up to the young people to take over."

So start out by taking a deep breath, because she can't possibly blow out these 86 candles by herself! But leave it for her to make the wish:

"For freedom. For peace. For democracy. For a good living for everybody. That everybody has a right to live and a right to privacy and a right to his own life. That's all. Isn't that what you want?"

Happy birthday, Bessie.

(©1978 by Larry Bush)

Larry Bush is the editorial associate for *Jewish Currents* magazine in New York. He is presently working on an historical novel based on his grandmother's life.



## SPORTS



It's often hard to recognize the man that was Babe Ruth amidst the legend that he was made into.

## Babe was only human

### BABE RUTH AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

By Ken Sobol, with an introduction by Dick Schapp  
Random House, New York, 1974

The title says it succinctly. This is a biography of, perhaps, the greatest professional athlete in the history of American sports. It is also an examination of the Ruthian myth and the culture within which the legend was born and nurtured.

George Herman Ruth was a remarkable figure. The son of a "sickly mother and drink-fattened father," the boy found himself irregularly shuttled in and out of St. Mary's Industrial School for Orphans, Delinquent, Incurable, and Wayward Boys (a "medium-security prison for children"). Encouraged to play baseball there, Ruth and those around him discovered that his body "reacted in ways that bordered on the supernatural."

By the early '30s Ruth had parlayed this "accident of physical coordination" into earnings of approximately \$3 million. (This figure includes his Yankee salary, World Series money, income from barnstorming tours, print media and film projects, vaudeville tours, personal appearances, endorsements and long-term investments.)

More importantly, Ruth's presence and performance on the playing field were, at

their best, unequaled in their brilliance. Having played an Herculean role in establishing baseball as an integral part of the national self-image, the Babe was loved "with an intensity of feeling that perhaps has never been equaled before or since."

Those aspects of Ruth's life that failed to conform to a rags-to-riches story were conveniently ignored by the media and the public. Dick Schapp, in his excellent introduction, describes Ruth as "living proof that through sports a man could rise from common, vulgar beginnings, and remain common and vulgar." The Bambino was "a man with distorted sexual, moral, social and financial values."

Author Sobol examines the New York sportswriters' efforts to create a hero of their own and the American people's need for and acceptance of a larger-than-life "Sultan of Swat."

While it's true that Ruth earned a great deal endorsing "anything with which he could be possibly associated in the public mind," he was, in turn, merchandized and sold to the public. Sobol describes this process in detail, revealing much about American mass culture in the process.

As for the \$3 million in earnings, the Bambino pissed most of it away about as fast as it came in. Unlike Horatio Alger, the Babe never became a rich man.

—Ronald Alden

## It's not like it used to be

By Louis Kampf

What leads one to watch a pro basketball game on a Friday in May after midnight? Overgreased Mexican food and too much beer. Heartburn is splitting my ribcage and sleep is out of the question. So, thanks to Chevrolet, Hairstart, Vitalis and TWA, I tune in on the second half of a Denver-Seattle playoff game.

I feel no great urgency about the game. After all, my hometown Celtics have been out of it for months. Yes, it's always a treat to watch Denver's David Thompson jump straight in the air, hang there, double-pump, and somehow flick the ball toward the basket. In it goes like a velvet puff. And there's Seattle's Fred Brown, bobbing like a jitterbug, gunning shots from delirious angles. Still, my pulse is beating at no more than its normal rate.

What am I? A malcontent or something?

No folks. Reason and the laws of nature lead to my ennui. Basketball in May? The teams in the NBA play more than 80 games during the regular season. Does that decide anything?

Well, sort of. A few—very few—teams got eliminated from the championship playoffs. Another very few teams manage to survive the grind without major injuries; most do not. Portland, last year's champion, went into the playoffs without starters Bill Walton and Bob Gross, and without supersub Lloyd Neal.

Portland and Philadelphia finished the season with far and away the best records in the league, both easily winning their divisional championships. Neither will play in the final round of the playoffs.

So why should I bite my nails as Brent Musberger and Rick Barry, the sponsors' uncious skills, are urging me to do?

But something else is gnawing at me. I love basketball: a vestige of years and hours spent bouncing a ball around bumpy playgrounds, trying to look like Seton Hall's Bobby Davies or CCNY's Sonny Hertzberg.

The players on the screen are supermen. They would have run my boyhood heroes breathless; made them look like they were glued to the floor on rebounds; shoved the ball down their throats on defense. George Mikan, the dominant center of the 1940s, would have been driven to the

Eastern League by Seattle's Marvin Webster. Yet I find watching them a bore.

Well, not quite. I always keep an eye open for the elegant head-fake, the explosive cut toward the basket, the sudden flick of a wrist for a steal. There are all those gorgeous bodies bending themselves into positions and shapes a cougar could barely match. But this is hardly nourishment for a whole game, never mind a season.

A game should, after all, be a game: something that is whole, has real development, flows. There is drama in Dr. J slam-dunking a ball for a win during the final seconds of a game. But it is the excitement of a moment, no more.

What's gone wrong? Never, absolutely never, have there been so many extraordinary ballplayers in any sport as there are today in basketball. Maybe that's what's wrong.

No, I'm not trying to toy with paradoxes. I have watched three of the Denver-Seattle games on the tube. Both are well-drilled teams that have been taught to set picks, run without the ball, and pass to the open man. Yet neither team can develop any consistent motion; neither is as much fun to watch as the DePaul, Kentucky, Holy Cross or NYU teams of the 1940s.

One reason is the frightening strength of today's players. These guys are built; they train like paratroopers; the lift weights; their shoulders can maim. I watch Seattle's Paul Silas bullying people in the middle, and think of poor round-shouldered Sid Tannenbaum, whom we all thought to be astounding in the '40s. But there's the rub. Large, muscled bodies take up space. They are forbidding. They turn the game into a demerby. So why bother with flow? Players like Gus Williams and Dan Issel are so skilled they can blow the ball in from all over the place.

Basketball players should be skinny, round-shouldered and graceful like a sly fox. The Knicks' Earl Monroe may be the last of the breed. And there really is no team to play with him.

So the playoffs drag on. There will be more moments combining the sensuousness of dance with the brutality of a bar-brawl, but little to compel my senses from beginning to end.

Louis Kampf is a Boston writer and MIT professor.

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# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## MOVIES



Juliet Berto as Janine and Alain Delon as Robert Klein

## A melodrama of substance

### MR. KLEIN

Written by Franco Solinas  
Directed by Joseph Losey  
Distributed in the U.S. by  
Quartet Films, Rated PG

Even before the opening credits, the wide screen is filled with a succession of carefully chosen quotes from reviews by well-known American film critics who think well of *Mr. Klein*. Members of the audience are put on notice that if they fail to be "thrilled," "haunted" and/or "moved" by the film they are about to see, the problem is with them, not it.

Maybe it's a smart move. It takes quite a long time to figure out what's going on with *Mr. Klein*. One tends to blame the skimpy subtitles (the dialogue is in French although director Losey is an American), or to suspect that the film has been butchered in an effort to reduce the running time. Maybe without all that praise from the pundits up front, some people might give up and go home.

It would be their loss if they did. *Mr. Klein* takes a while to shift into high, but it is a powerful and important film.

The background is Paris under Nazi occupation in WWII. The material of which the story is fashioned is the slowly tightening net of official anti-Semitism. The focus of attention is a rich, young art-dealer named Robert Klein (played by Alain Delon, one of France's most distinguished and popular actors). This *Mr. Klein* is not Jewish, but early on he becomes entangled in the fate of another Robert Klein who is, and who is also an active member of the anti-Nazi underground. ("Terrorists," to the other side.)

The plot is complex—so complex, in fact, that parts of it never fit neatly into the whole—and moves at the pace of a good suspense/adventure starring James

Bond. Director Losey, who left Hollywood in the days of the blacklist and has worked abroad ever since, is clearly on the side of the Resistance and critical of his protagonist, who is only interested in keeping a safe distance between himself and the threatened Jews.

But always the key image—the face of the other Klein—eludes him and us.

But nothing else is clear—except that obscurity is the "in" thing with European filmmakers.

*Mr. Klein* has a good deal in common with Bunuel's *That Obscure Object of Desire* (cf *ITT*, May 3). Both films are brilliantly theatrical, elegantly mounted and infuriatingly impenetrable. The difference between them is that the Bunuel film is not about anything very important to most of us. *Mr. Klein* is.

It is not that the character of this over-civilized, under humanized young man is much more interesting than Bunuel's aging sensualist. Klein is a prime example of "disengagement" and, naturally enough, does not engage our sympathies very deeply. His eleventh hour decision to graduate into the human race is not entirely convincing, but at that point, it doesn't matter. The tragically delayed awakening of one man is overwhelmed by the infinitely greater tragedy of the people with whom he finally identifies.

The film is marvelously interesting to look at. Interiors are lushly and lovingly dressed—or stripped and degraded, if that is

appropriate. The exterior scenes are composed like choreography, forcing the audience into a state of apprehension almost as intense as Klein's. The camera gathers images as Klein's mind gathers clues to the mystery that is darkening around him. But always the key image—the face of the other Klein—eludes him and us. And the music signals more ominous mysteries ahead.

There are times when it strikes one that perhaps none of this is really happening except in the mind of Robert Klein. Is he a double personality, a latter day Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde? Or a character out of Kafka, who knows he is being punished, but by whom and for what he can never find out?

All this makes for a good deal of theatrical excitement, but it does not make you care a lot whether or not Robert Klein (Alain Delon) escapes the net that is being cast for the other—about whom you might care if only you knew more.

The first scene in the film is the most moving of the whole two hours, and it concerns a character you will never see again—a middle-aged, middle-class woman, stripped naked for examination and measurement by a French doctor to determine whether or not she is "probably Jewish." Not until the final sequence, when the about-to-be-deported Jews are arranged under the initial letters of their names and then herded into a tunnel that leads to the cattle trains, does the film again achieve that intensity of emotion.

A terrific beginning and a terrific ending, with a good deal of excitement in between, doesn't add up to a total loss. But it does seem too bad that all that talent couldn't have made *Mr. Klein* into a totally, terrifically successful film.

—Janet Stevenson

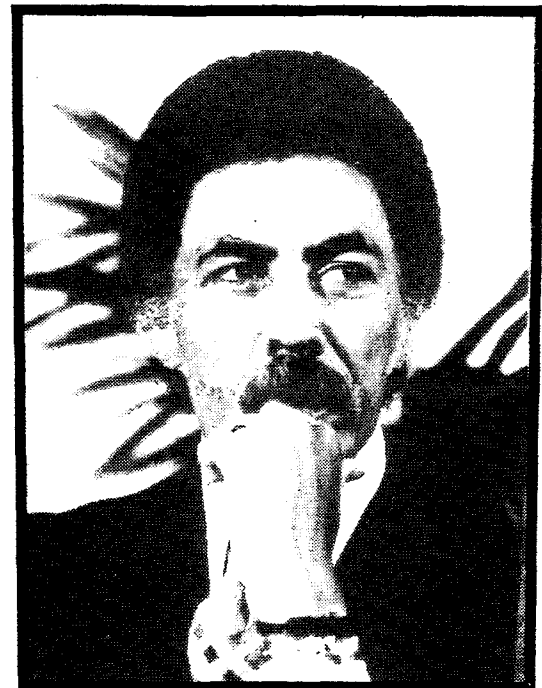
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## MUSIC

## A band like Geronimo's

Most art comes from the artist's life experience. If you're a young, politically conscious Indian in the Southwest that life experience may include protests against massive energy developments on the Navajo and Hopi reservations and run-ins with the law in the bordertowns of Gallup or Farmington, New Mexico. Combine these experiences with the jazzed-up country rock sounds of three innovative and accomplished musicians, and you've got a unique Southwestern rock band—"Paintings."

The band—consisting of William Bluehouse Johnson, from Isleta Pueblo (on base and lead guitar), Ed Molina (on drums), Bob Nakaidinae, Navajo (on base and acoustic guitar, and Todd Talashoma, Hopi percussionist and traditional singer—has played before Indian and college audiences, both on and off the Navajo reservation. Most recently, Paintings performed in Colorado before Indians and non-Indian supporters making the "Longest Walk"

across country to dramatize opposition to anti-Indian bills now before Congress.

Paintings' composer and moving force, 26-year-old Bob Nakaidinae, is no stranger to the activism and violence that has characterized the Southwestern Indian movement in recent years. In 1973 Nakaidinae was involved in a shoot-out at a local sporting goods store in Gallup, N.M., after the attempted kidnapping of the town's mayor, Emmitt Garcia. Larry Casuse, a young Navajo leader and Nakaidinae's companion, was killed in the shoot-out. The incident is the subject of one of Paintings' songs, "Red and the Dynamite Kid," written by Nakaidinae in Gallup ten days after the incident occurred.

"We're trying to combine music and politics," he explains, "and when we talk about being a band, we're talking about a band like Geronimo's... We haven't really gotten to the general public yet—right now we're trying to encourage our own people to re-educate

and re-motivate them into doing something for themselves."

One of Paintings' more recent songs, also written by Nakaidinae, indicates just what that something might be. Titled, "Jumping off a Canyon," part of the song's lyrics runs:

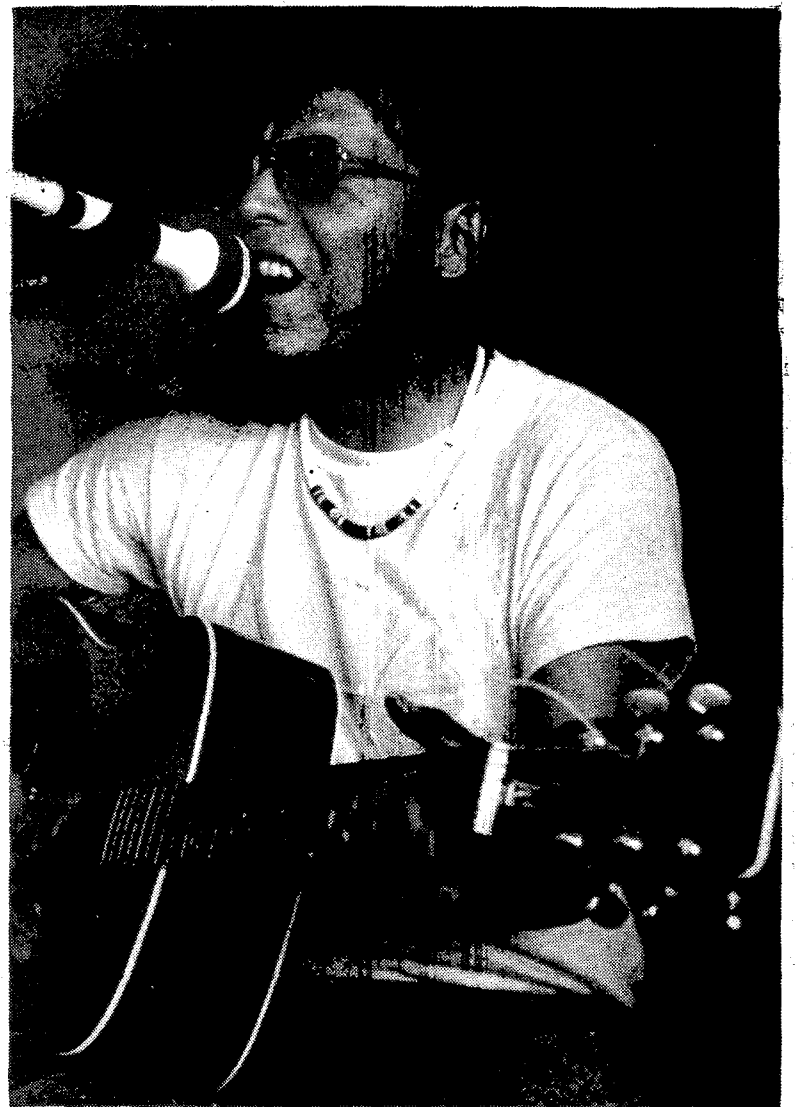
*It seems like all the white people  
are pushing us off a canyon—  
But we don't have to fall; we  
can fly too.*

Many of Paintings' other songs—"Black Mesa," "Circles," "Red and the Dynamite Kid," also deal with white oppression and Indian reaction, with lyrics that sketch the scene and spark the anger so central to the message Paintings carries.

"Our lyrics are to be listened to—not just heard," says William Bluehouse Johnson. "This is traditional in Indian story telling, but it's a brand new thing in rock music."

—Dede Feldman

Dede Feldman is a free-lance writer in New Mexico.



Robert Nakaidinae, Navajo singer/songwriter

Arturo Sandoval

## Two folk musicians with a lot to say

## NEW SONGS FROM THE BRIARPATCH

Tom Paxton  
(Vanguard Records)

## EVOLUTION (THE MOST RECENT)

Taj Mahal  
(Warner Bros. Records)

Tom Paxton and Taj Mahal, two veterans of the folk music renaissance of the mid-1960s, are still around and still making fine music.

Paxton's latest record, *New Songs from the Briarpatch*, has all the musical and lyrical characteristics that have made him one of the most resilient of the old folkies. Like many other stars of this genre, Paxton uses his biting wit to make satirical points. But his lyrics, unlike some others, are as accessible as they are clever, e.g., "Bring Back the Chair," an acid anthem for supporters of capital punishment, and "You Can Eat Dog Food," a mock conservative proposal for curing run-

away inflation and unemployment.

Paxton also writes serious songs that make strong statements. "There Goes the Mountain," to name one, establishes his claim as the best environmental songwriter around. Among the most effective numbers in this album is "White Bones of Allende," a powerful hymn to Chile's attempt at democracy:

*And the white bones of Allende  
Scattered bones of Chile  
Are not silent. They are screaming.  
They're your peace prize, Dr. K.*

Steve Goodman, himself a remarkable musician, accompanies Paxton on almost every song and provides a lively harmony and guitar backup.

Taj Mahal is also a folk musician with a lot of guts. His music doesn't fit into any single niche, but explores the vicissitudes of the black experience through a wide variety of styles: slave songs, Af-



Singer/songwriter Taj Mahal's new album, *EVOLUTION (THE MOST RECENT)*, effectively interweaves acoustic blues and Caribbean music.

rican chants, acoustic blues, calypso, salsa, reggae, jazz, soul, R&B and even some big band music.

At the core of *On Evolution (The Most Recent)* are two distinct motifs: acoustic blues and Caribbean music. Mahal moves easily between them, interweaving them carefully and creatively. He is not interested in grafting Caribbean motifs onto already developed country blues tunes. He explores both styles for themselves and infuses them with his infectious joy.

"Queen Bee," a love song he wrote, combines country blues finger-picking on his electric guitar with throaty vocals, backed by steel drums, in one of the album's most compelling tunes. The pretentiously titled "The Most Recent (Evolution) of Muthafusticus Modernisticus," a slow jazz tune that limps along for almost seven minutes, is the one disappointment.

*Evolution* shows Taj Mahal growing in new directions and re-exploring some older ones. He's having a wonderful time doing it, and you will too when you hear it.

—Michael S. Kimmel

Michael S. Kimmel is a free-lance writer in Berkeley who reviews records regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

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**ASSAULT WITH A DEADLY WEAPON: The Autobiography of a Street Criminal** by "John Allen," edited by Diane Hall Kelly and Philip Heymann. Pantheon Books, New York, 1977, \$8.95

There's a scene early in *Assault With a Deadly Weapon (ADW)* that speaks volumes about ghetto life in America.

"John Allen," a youth gang leader, robber, dope dealer and pimp, has just shot a rival gang leader on the street. He arrives home to find the police in the process of arresting his grandfather (also named "John Allen") for the crime. "Let me go," the grandfather cries, "I haven't shot anyone in years."

*ADW* is a book about street crime as work—as a more or less carefully chosen occupation, picked from the few available to a young black man in the Washington (D.C.) ghetto. On one level, it is a powerful and often moving account of one man's effort to hold his own in a violent, dangerous, and frustrating world. On another level, it is a powerful, though implicit, critique of the way we approach the problem of urban crime.

Until recently, the key theme in American crime-control was the idea that crime was a kind of illness to be cured by "treating" offenders. But the book makes clear that there's nothing wrong with "John Allen"; he's not crazy, not unmotivated, not "deficient." He's a hard driving, often successful entrepreneur, whose skills and persistence have paid off in financial gain, status, and power in his community. He became leader of his gang when he was still much younger than most of the other gang members. He did well enough dealing dope to make a very good living and win a position of trust in the fierce and hierarchical world of the drug trade. Until a police bullet in the spine cut short his career and confined him to a wheelchair,

## BOOKS

# Crime does pay—better than most jobs open to ghetto kids



Jane Melnick

IN THESE TIMES MAY 31-JUNE 6, 1978 23  
he was a model of sorts to the young men who came up after him.

"Allen's" methods were often harsh. The book is a helpful reminder that there's nothing romantic—or revolutionary—about the brutal business of street crime. But "Allen's" violence was never random or "senseless," always used to advance the twin goals of getting ahead and making a reputation for himself—goals as prevalent among corporate executives as among street criminals.

"In life," Allen writes, "somebody's got to be stepped on"; a sentiment that would be echoed, at least privately, by bourgeois apologists from Hobbes to Henry Ford. "Allen's" commitment to gaining status and privilege through coercion and fear differs from the American norm mainly in the means available to put it into practice.

Nowadays, the idea of crime as illness has lost favor with American criminologists. The new conventional wisdom holds that we can stop crime by doling out stiffer sentences and building more and bigger prisons. *ADW* helps shatter that myth, too. "John Allen" went to prison, several times, often for long sentences. The experience didn't "deter" him from going back to his trade as soon as he got out. By his own account, the main effect of imprisonment was to teach him new and better ways to make a living by ripping other people off. "I didn't fear punishment," he notes, "because I knew I could handle it."

Prison won't stop the John Allens, because prison, like violence, is one of the routine risks of street crime as a job. And that job is an attractive and rewarding one, compared to what else is available in the wastelands of the inner cities. Until we begin to provide real alternatives, street crime will remain a favored occupation for the urban poor.

—Elliott Currie

*Elliott Currie is a writer specializing in urban and criminal justice.*

# Surely goodness and mercy...

**ON MORAL FICTION**  
By John Gardner  
Basic Books, 1978, \$8.95

John Gardner, professor, popular novelist, Chaucerian scholar of high reputation, declares in this loose collection of essays that "moral art in its highest form holds up models of virtue, whether they be heroic models like Homer's Achilles or models of quiet endurance, like the coal miners, the steelworkers, the southern midwife or the soldiers in the photographs of W. Eugene Smith."

In his view, good art is moral art, and "morality means nothing more than doing what is unselfish, helpful, kind and noble-hearted." Like many of us, Garner seems frightened silly by the overstated brutality and cynicism of 20th century western society and art. He yearns for a myth of Man Triumphant, with virtue rewarded and the downtrodden poised perpetually for redemption.

One strives to agree with him. Pouncing on a critic who is urging modern artists to affirm Life, Virtue and Goodness is a little like kicking the doggie in the window. But Professor Gardner's medieval code must be called what it is: totalitarian optimism.

"Good art is...unsentimentally rooted in love." One wishes that were true as one wishes that Jimmy Carter's repeated invocations of love really meant something. But as much good art had been

rooted in hatred, anger, loneliness, desperation and ignoble ambition as love. The important thing is truth. I would rather the book had been called "On Truthful Fiction," to stress accuracy and authenticity in art, rather than kindness.

The truth is, since Auschwitz and Hiroshima artists have found it difficult to look to either God or the heart of man for love and instead have been developing the forms and languages of their arts into cool, beautiful structures. Mr. Gardner himself looks elsewhere than humanity's modern heart for his material: ancient myths (*Grendel*), fairy tales (*Nickel Mountain*) and medieval studies (*The Life and Times of Chaucer*).

"What's true for Hector and Achilles is true for all of us." Then isn't what is true for Raskolnikov and Yossarian true for all of us too, if presented cogently and artistically?

No. Good art is moral art, and morality is what Gardner tells us it is. Heroism is moral; abstraction and experimental art are not. Nor do the "gangs of absurdists and jubilant nihilists" meet his criteria. Tom Stoppard and William Gass are not first-rate artists for him. They create not works of "conviction" but mere "linguistic sculptures." He likes Euripides but not Albee, Bach but not John Cage, Shakespeare but not J.D. Salinger, Tolstoy but not Hawkes, Dante but not Cheever.

"Saul Bellow, actually not a novelist at heart but an essayist disguised as a writer of fiction," is characterized as a stand-up philosopher with canned laughter in the background. And "a brilliantly imagined novel about a rapist or murderer...is only in a marginal sense art." Richard Wright and Dostoyevsky be damned.

Looking to Camelot rather than Detroit for his material places Professor Gardner at odds with his contemporaries, who are trying to forge myths of post-industrial Man rather than conjure the pre-industrial version. Gardner is bored with modern art, impatient with this period of artistic transition in which method has replaced myth as preoccupation and Man is beyond nature: "We are living, for all practical purposes, in an age of mediocre art."

*On Moral Fiction* is a book of noble themes, but of minimal validity for modern readers. It is in fact a literary pilgrimage across America and Europe, sour, smug, diffusively written, and all the more devastating for its pretensions to being a labor of love.

Ultimately, Gardner can promise only that Achilles and other progeny of gods will rescue us, but we've had all that before. It is time now to understand the sons and daughters of women.

—Jeffrey Gillenkirk  
*Jeffrey Gillenkirk is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles who reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.*



Novelist and critic John Gardner

Gardner is bored with modern art and impatient with this period in which man is beyond nature.





Ken Firestone

By David Helvarg

SAN DIEGO

A little after 3:00 on the morning of February 15th, a man described as being of medium height, in his mid-20s, with long brown hair walked into a Winchell's donut shop on Garnet Avenue here, broke two bottles of gasoline on the floor and ignited them, sending two employees scurrying and causing \$15,000 dollars damage. A short while later the *San Diego Evening Tribune* received a call from somebody "with a German accent" demanding that Winchell's Donuts not expand their chain into Ocean Beach.

A month later a second firebombing caused an additional \$35,000 to a second Winchell's Donut shop.

These two firebombings focused city-wide attention on the struggle of several Ocean Beach organizations to keep the Denny's/Winchell's fast food conglomerate from moving into their community.

Ocean Beach, generally referred to as OB, is a low income working-class youth community of about 15,000 located on a peninsula opposite the North Island Naval Air Station at the foot of San Diego Bay. Over the last ten years OB has developed a reputation as a center of countercultural lifestyle and political protest.

Although sometimes dismissed as a cultural anachronism, an out-of-date Berkeley with bodysurf, ten years of community organizing has generated a sense of neighborhood cohesiveness and power in OB rarely found in Southern California.

This is reflected in the various alternative institutions that operate in the OB area: a Free school now teaching its second generation of students, a community school offering free courses in everything from macrame to marxism, a child care project, a widely used "People's Food Store" food co-op and a popularly elected Community Planning Board,

# DONUT WAR!

Ocean Beach was a quiet haven of counterculture life. And then Winchell's donuts moved in. They offered a wood exterior and a whole-wheat donut, but the residents weren't buying.

the outgrowth of a seven-year struggle against apartment and condominium developers.

In the fall of '77 the Denny's/Winchell's Corporation approached the Community Planning Board about the possibility of opening one of their donut shops at the entrance to OB. In trying to keep with "the spirit of the community" they offered to construct their shop with an all-wood decor and add a wholewheat organic donut to their standard selection.

The board voted to recommend against a building permit for Winchell's, citing potential traffic, safety and litter problems as influencing their decision. Over 50,000 cars a day pass the site of the proposed donut shop, and Robb Field, a park where many community children play, is located directly across the street from the site. Several board members also questioned the nutritional value of fast-food and the potential effect a franchise might have on local bakeries and restaurants.

The planning board's argument failed to impress the state Coastal Commission, however, which voted to grant Winchell's the right to build despite the fact that twice before it had voted to deny the 7-11 chain a permit to build at the same locale.

The Coastal Commission decision upset a number of local residents who, falling back on a tradition of anti-war, anti-development organizing, soon established the People Against Winchell's (PAW). PAW began distributing leaflets, petitions, a children's book (*The Wizard of O.B. vs. the Donut Giant*) and bumper stickers reading "Boycott Winchell's - Save O.B."

Soon these yellow warnings began appearing on car bumpers, in windows and on stop signs and walls throughout the neighborhood.

In late April the leadership of PAW held a strategy meeting at the Little Chef Cafe on Newport Street, the palm-lined "Main Street" of OB. Over shakes and coffee they discussed what new steps to take in the wake of the announcement by the Orange County based Denny's that despite the bombings and protests the company would "take its stand" in Ocean Beach.

The leadership of PAW reflects the larger demographics of Ocean Beach. There is a cab driver who is also an elected member of the planning board, an optical engineer, a housewife, a teacher at the Free School, a student, a welfare mother and a carpenter.

They, along with 30 to 50 of their friends and supporters, have been holding weekend vigils at the proposed shop site since mid-February. The main attraction at these rallies, other than the guitars and bake-sale pastries, has been a large red and black banner reading: "Honk if you're against Winchell's."

About half the cars that pass the corner during these rallies lean on their horns, creating hours of cacophony and a new category of experience for the petro-chemical culture of Southern California: the drive-through demo. "I think it's really kind of hypocritical," confided a San Diego policewoman watching one of the demonstrations, "they claim to be for ecology but then create all this noise pollution."

## Rolling in dough.

According to its annual report Denny's Inc. made over \$20 million dollars profit last year on close to half a billion dollars revenue. It has over 600 restaurants and over 750 donut shops operating throughout the U.S. and the "Free World" (Puerto Rico, Guam, Taiwan, etc.).

Although over 90 percent of the hamburger market and 80 percent of the pizza and ice cream are already controlled by chains, Denny's sees tremendous expansion potential in the full menu and donut sectors of the economy. Americans consume about \$1.5 billion donuts a year, yet the sales of the three leading chains add up to only \$400 million (including Winchell's at \$100 million a year).

Representatives from Winchell's recently met with leaders of PAW. They said that OB was the dirtiest beach town they had ever seen and that a Winchell's donut shop would be an improvement, if only in terms of sanitation. They implied that they knew that PAW was linked with the recent bombings, a charge repeatedly and vigorously denied by both the Planning Board and PAW. ("Charges like that are very much like Winchell's donuts," said a PAW member, "tasteless and without substance.")

PAW is planning to start picketing Denny's corporate headquarters in La Mirada, Calif., and is encouraging the Community Planning Board to put the question of the donut shop on the ballot for the upcoming June elections.

At this point Denny's is unlikely to be swayed one way or another by a community-wide referendum. "We've already made our decision. We've got the permits we need and we are going to proceed with our construction," George Hellick, the marketing director for Winchell's told IN THESE TIMES.

"They're fools if they try and build here," said one source close to the donut underground. "Their new surveillance cameras won't protect them. Look what happened to that airport in Japan when they tried to ignore the local populace. You know it's a lot harder to get to an airport control tower than it is to a set of deep-fat fryers."

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